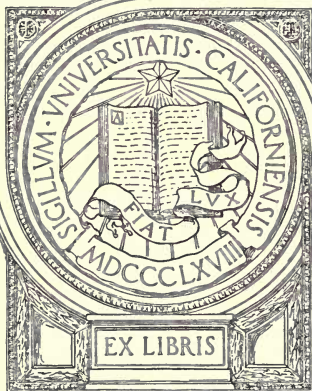
The background of the entire image is a traditional marbled paper pattern. It features large, irregular, dark grey or black circular shapes, often referred to as 'stones' or 'cells', which are separated by a network of thin, branching veins in shades of yellow, tan, and reddish-brown. The overall effect is a complex, organic, and somewhat abstract design.

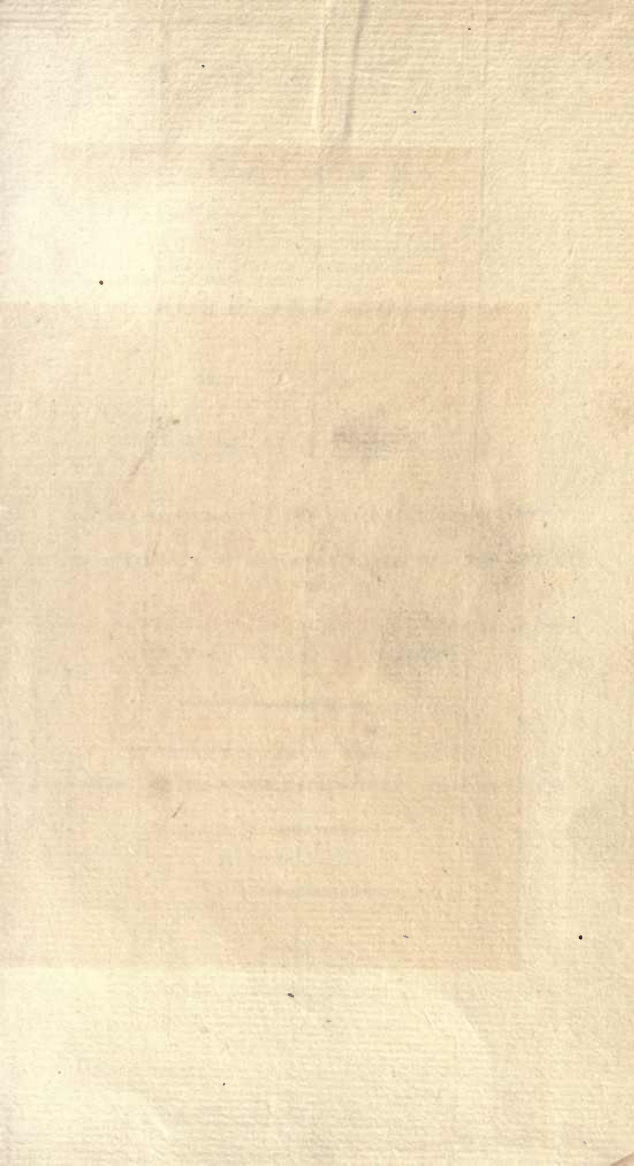
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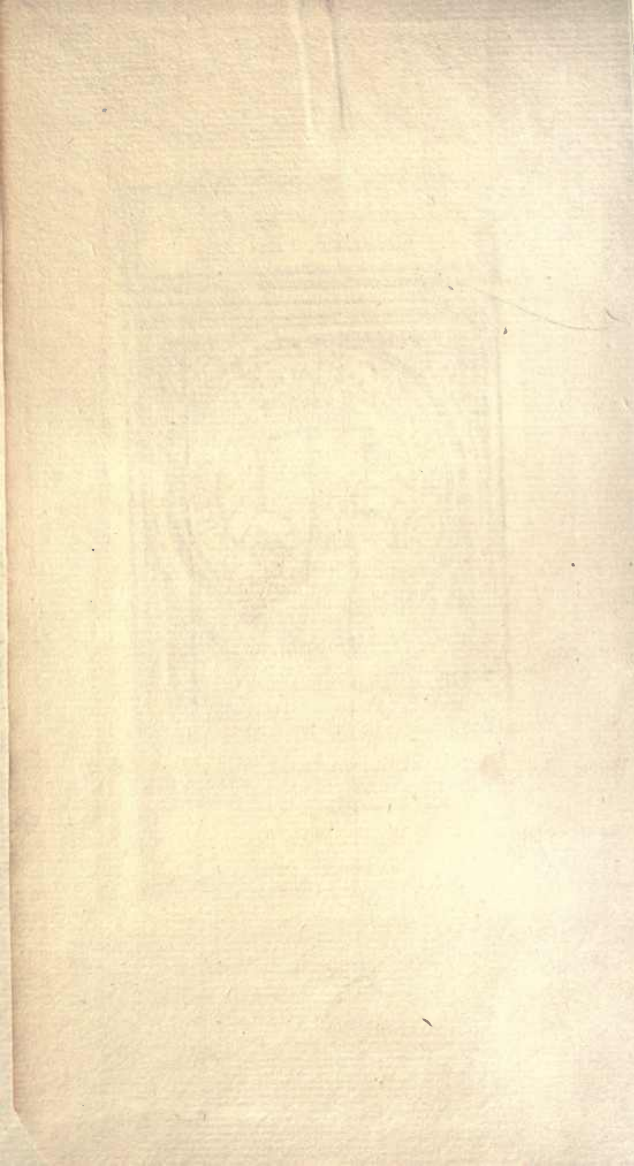
Socialism
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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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[Brissot de Warville, Jacques Pierre]
J. P. BRISSOT,

DEPUTY

OF

EURE AND LOIRE,

TO HIS

CONSTITUENTS,

ON THE SITUATION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION;

ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANARCHISTS, AND THE EVILS IT
HAS CAUSED;

AND ON THE NECESSITY OF ANNIHILATING THAT INFLUENCE
IN ORDER TO SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH A PREFACE AND OCCASIONAL NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

A NEW EDITION.

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J. P. BRISSET

DEPUTY

FOR AND FOR

1848

CONSTITUENTS

BY THE ACTION OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION;
ON THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY AND THE FUTURE
OF THE NATION;
AND ON THE NATURE OF THE NATION'S INTERESTS
IN ORDER TO HAVE THE NATION

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
WITH A PREFACE AND ORIGINAL NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

A NEW EDITION

REVISED

BY THE AUTHOR

NEW YORK

1848

CHAS. A. LITTLE & CO.

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Translator's Preface.

THE French Revolution has been the subject of various speculations, and various histories. As might be expected, the Royalists and the Republicans have differed a good deal in their accounts of the principles of that revolution, of the springs which have set it in motion, and of the true character of those who have been, or still are the principal actors on that astonishing scene.

They who are inclined to think favourably of that event, will undoubtedly object to every state of facts which comes only from the authority of a Royalist. Thus much must be allowed by those who are the most firmly attached to the cause of religion, law, and order (for of such, and not of friends to despotism, the royal party is composed) that their very affection to this generous and manly

cause, and their abhorrence of a revolution, not less fatal to liberty than to government, may possibly lead them in some particulars to a more harsh representation of the proceedings of their adversaries, than would be allowed by the cold neutrality of an impartial judge. This sort of error arises from a source highly laudable ; but the exactness of truth may suffer even from the feelings of virtue. History will do justice to the intentions of worthy men ; but it will be on its guard against their infirmities : it will examine with great strictness of scrutiny, whatever appears from a writer in favour of his own cause. On the other hand, whatever escapes him, and makes against that cause, comes with the greatest weight.

In this important controversy, the translator of the following work brings forward to the English tribunal of opinion, the testimony of a witness beyond all exception. His competence is undoubted. He knows every thing which concerns this revolution to the bottom. He is a chief actor in all the scenes which he presents. No man can object to him as a royalist : the royal party, and the Christian religion, never had a more determined enemy. In

a word

a word, it is **BRISSOT**.—It is Brissot the Republican, the Jacobin, and the Philosopher, who is brought to give an account of Jacobinism, and of Republicanism, and of Philosophy.

It is worthy of observation, that this his account of the genius of Jacobinism, and its effects, is not confined to the period in which that faction came to be divided within itself. In several, and those very important particulars, Brissot's observations apply to the whole of the preceding period, before the great schism, and whilst the Jacobins acted as one body: inasmuch, that the far greater part of the proceedings of the ruling powers, since the commencement of the revolution in France, so strikingly painted, so strongly and so justly reprobated by Brissot, were the acts of Brissot himself and his associates. All the members of the Girondin subdivision were as deeply concerned as any of the Mountain could possibly be, and some of them much more deeply, in those horrid transactions which have filled all the thinking part of Europe with the greatest detestation, and with the most serious apprehensions for the common liberty and safety.

A question will very naturally be asked, what could induce Brissot to draw such a picture? He must have been sensible it was his own. The answer is—the inducement was the same with that which led him to partake in the perpetration of all the crimes, the calamitous effects of which he describes with the pen of a master,—Ambition. His faction having obtained their stupendous and unnatural power, by rooting out of the minds of his unhappy countrymen every principle of religion, morality, loyalty, fidelity, and honour, discovered, that when authority came into their hands, it would be a matter of no small difficulty for them to carry on government on the principles by which they had destroyed it.

The rights of men, and the new principles of liberty and equality, were very unhandy instruments for those who wished to establish a system of tranquillity and order. They who were taught to find nothing to respect in the title and in the virtues of Louis the Sixteenth, a prince succeeding to the throne by the fundamental laws, in the line of a succession of monarchs continued for fourteen hundred years, found nothing which could bind them

them to an implicit fidelity, and dutiful allegiance to Mess. Brissot, Vergniaux, Condorcet, Anarchis Cloots, and Thomas Paine.

In this difficulty, they did as well as they could. To govern the people, they must incline the people to obey. The work was difficult, but it was necessary. They were to accomplish it by such materials and by such instruments as they had in their hands. They were to accomplish the purposes of order, morality, and submission to the laws, from the principles of atheism, profligacy, and sedition. Ill as the disguise became them, they began to assume the mask of an austere and rigid virtue; they exhausted all the stores of their eloquence (which in some of them were not inconsiderable) in declamations, against tumult and confusion; they made daily harangues on the blessings of order, discipline, quiet, and obedience to authority; they even shewed some sort of disposition to protect such property as had not been confiscated. They, who on every occasion had discovered a sort of furious thirst of blood, and a greedy appetite for slaughter, who avowed and gloried in the murders and massacres of the 14th of July, of the 5th and 6th

6th of October, and of the 10th of August, now began to be squeamish and fastidious with regard to those of the 2d of September.

In their pretended scruples on the sequel of the slaughter of the 10th of August, they imposed upon no living creature, and they obtained not the smallest credit for humanity. They endeavoured to establish a distinction, by the belief of which they hoped to keep the spirit of murder safely bottled up, and sealed for their own purposes, without endangering themselves by the fumes of the poison which they prepared for their enemies.

Roland was the chief and the most accredited of the faction:—His morals had furnished little matter of exception against him;—old, domestic, and uxorious, he led a private life sufficiently blameless. He was therefore set up as the *Cato* of the republican party, which did not abound in such characters.

This man, like most of the chiefs, was the manager of a newspaper, in which he promoted the interest of his party. He was a fatal present made by the revolutionists to the unhappy king,

as one of his ministers under the new constitution. Amongst his colleagues were Claviere and Servan. All the three have since that time, either lost their heads by the axe of their associates in rebellion, or to evade their own revolutionary justice, have fallen by their own hands.

These ministers were regarded by the king as in a conspiracy to dethrone him. Nobody who considers the circumstances which preceded the deposition of Louis the sixteenth; nobody who attends to the subsequent conduct of those ministers, can hesitate about the reality of such a conspiracy. The king certainly had no doubt of it: he found himself obliged to remove them; and the necessity which first obliged him to choose such regicide ministers, constrained him to replace them by Dumourier the Jacobin, and some others of little efficiency, though of a better description.

A little before this removal, and evidently as a part of the conspiracy, Roland put into the king's hands as a memorial, the most insolent, seditious, and atrocious libel, that has probably ever been penned. This paper Roland a few days

after delivered to the National Assembly,* who instantly published and dispersed it over all France; and in order to give it the stronger operation, they declared, that he and his brother ministers had carried with them the regret of the nation. None of the writings which have inflamed the Jacobin spirit to a savage fury, ever worked up a fiercer ferment through the whole mass of the republicans in every part of France.

Under the thin veil of *prediction*, he strongly *recommends* all the abominable practices which afterwards followed. In particular he inflamed the minds of the populace against the respectable and conscientious clergy, who became the chief objects of the massacre, and who were to him the chief objects of a malignity and rancour that one could hardly think to exist in an human heart.

We have the reliques of his fanatical perfection here. We are in a condition to judge of the merits of the persecutors and of the persecuted—I do not say the accusers and accused; because in all the furious declamations of the atheistical faction against these men, not one specific charge

* *Translator.*] Presented to the king June 13, delivered to him the preceding Monday.

has been made upon any one person of those who suffered in their massacre, or by their decree of exile.

The king had declared that he would sooner perish under their axe, (he too well saw what was preparing for him) than give his sanction to the iniquitous act of proscription, under which those innocent people were to be transported.

On this proscription of the clergy, a principal part of the ostensible quarrel between the king and those ministers, had turned. From the time of the authorised publication of this libel, some of the manœuvres long and uniformly pursued for the king's deposition, became more and more evident and declared.

The tenth of August came on, and in the manner in which Roland had predicted: it was followed by the same consequences—The king was deposed, after cruel massacres, in the courts and the apartments of his palace, and in almost all parts of the city. In reward of his treason to his old master, Roland was by his new masters named minister of the home department.

The massacres of the second of September were begotten by the massacres of the tenth of August. They were universally foreseen and hourly expected. During the short interval between the two murderous scenes, the furies, male and female, cried out havock as loudly and as fiercely as ever. The ordinary jails were all filled with prepared victims; and when they overflowed, churches were turned into jails. At this time the relentless Roland had the care of the general police; he had for his colleague the bloody Danton, who was minister of justice:—The insidious Petion was mayor of Paris—The treacherous Manuel was procurator of the Common-hall.—The magistrates (some or all of them) were evidently the authors of this massacre. Lest the national guards should, by their very name, be reminded of their duty in preserving the lives of their fellow citizens, the common council of Paris, pretending that it was in vain to think of resisting the murderers, (although in truth neither their numbers nor their arms were at all formidable) obliged those guards to draw the charges from their musquets, and took away their bayonets.

One of their journalists, and according to their fashion, one of their leading statesmen, Gorfas, mentions this fact in his newspaper, which he formerly called the Galley Journal. The title was well suited to the paper and its author. For some felonies he had been sentenced to the galleys; but by the benignity of the late king, this felon (to be one day advanced to the rank of a regicide) had been pardoned and released at the intercession of the ambassadors of Tippoo Sultan. His gratitude was such as might naturally have been expected; and it has lately been rewarded, as it deserved. This liberated Galley-slave was raised, in mockery of all criminal law, to be minister of justice: he became from his elevation a more conspicuous object of accusation; and he has since received the punishment of his former crimes in proscription and death.

It will be asked, how the minister of the home department was employed at this crisis? The day after the massacre had commenced Roland appeared, but not with the powerful apparatus of a protecting magistrate, to rescue those who had survived the slaughter of the first day:—Nothing

of this. On the third of September, (that is the day after the commencement of the massacre)* he writes a long, elaborate, verbose epistle to the Assembly: in which, after magnifying, according to the *bon ton* of the revolution, his own integrity, humanity, courage, and patriotism, he first directly justifies all the bloody proceedings of the tenth of August. He considers the slaughter of that day as a necessary measure for defeating a conspiracy, which (with a full knowledge of the falsehood of his assertion) he asserts to have been formed for a massacre of the people of Paris, and which he more than insinuates, was the work of his late unhappy master, who was universally known to carry his dread of shedding the blood of his most guilty subjects to an excess.

“Without the day of the tenth,” says he, “it is evident that we should have been lost. The court, prepared for a long time, waited for the hour which was to accumulate all treasons, to display over Paris the standard of death, and

* Letter to the National Assembly signed—*The Minister of the interior* ROLAND, dated Paris, Sept. 3d, 4th year of Liberty.—

“ to reign there by terror. The sense of the
 “ people, (le sentiment) always *just and ready*
 “ when their opinion is not corrupted, *foresaw*
 “ the epoch marked for their destruction, and
 “ rendered it fatal to the conspirators.” He then
 proceeds, in the cant which has been applied to
 palliate all their atrocities from the fourteenth of
 July, 1789, to the present time;—“ It is in the
 “ nature of things,” continues he, “ and in that
 “ of the human heart, that victory should bring
 “ with it *some* excess. The sea, agitated by a
 “ violent storm, roars *long* after the tempest; but
 “ *every thing has bounds*, which ought *at length*
 “ to be observed.”

In this memorable epistle, he considers
 such *excesses* as fatalities arising from the
 very nature of things, and consequently not to be
 punished. He allows a space of time for the
 duration of these agitations; and lest he should be
 thought rigid and too scanty in his measure, he
 thinks it may be *long*. But he would have things
 to cease *at length*. But when, and where?—
 When they may approach his own person.

“ Yesterday,” says he, the MINISTERS *were*
 “ *denounced: vaguely* indeed as to the *matter*, be-
 “ cause

“ cause subjects of reproach were wanting ; but
 “ with that warmth and force of assertion, which
 “ strike the imagination and seduce it for a
 “ moment, and which mislead and destroy con-
 “ fidence, without which no man should remain
 “ in place in a free government. Yesterday,
 “ again, in an assembly of the presidents of all
 “ the sections, convoked by the ministers, with
 “ the view of conciliating all minds, and of
 “ mutual explanation, I perceived that *distrust*
 “ *which suspects, interrogates, and fetters opera-*
 “ *tions.*”

In this manner, (that is, in mutual suspicions
 and interrogatories) this virtuous minister of the
 home department, and all the magistracy of Paris,
 spent the first day of the massacre, the atrocity of
 which has spread horror and alarm throughout Eu-
 rope. It does not appear that the putting a stop to
 the massacre, had any part in the object of their
 meeting, or in their consultations when they were
 met. Here was a minister tremblingly alive to
 his own safety, dead to that of his fellow citizens,
 eager to preserve his place, and worse than indif-
 ferent about its most important duties. Speaking
 of the people, he says, “ that their hidden
 “ enemies

“ enemies may make use of this *agitation*,” (the tender appellation which he gives to horrid massacre) “ to hurt *their best friends, and their most able defenders. Already the example begins*; let it restrain and arrest a *just* rage. Indignation carried to its height commences proscriptions which fall only on the *guilty*, but in which error and particular passions may shortly involve the *honest man*.”

He saw that the able artificers in the trade and mystery of murder, did not chuse that their skill should be unemployed after their first work ; and that they were full as ready to cut off their rivals as their enemies. This gave him *one* alarm, that was serious. This letter of Roland in every part of it lets out the secret of all the parties in this revolution. *Plena rimarum est ; hac, atque illac perfluit.* We see that none of them condemn the occasional practice of murder ; provided it is properly applied ; provided it is kept within the bounds, which each of those parties think proper to prescribe. In this case Roland feared, that if what was occasionally useful, should become habitual, the practice might go further than was convenient. It might involve the best

friends of the last revolution, as it had done the heroes of the first revolution: he feared that it would not be confined to the La Fayettees and Clement-Tonnerres, the Duponts, and Barnaves, but that it might extend to the Brissots and Verginaux's, to the Condorcets, the Petions, and to himself. Under this apprehension there is no doubt that his humane feelings were altogether unaffected.

His observations on the massacre of the preceding day are such as cannot be passed over:—
 “ Yesterday,” said he, “ was a day upon the
 “ events of which it is perhaps necessary to leave
 “ a *veil*;—I know that the people with their
 “ vengeance *mingled a sort of justice*; they did
 “ not take for victims *all* who presented them-
 “ selves to their fury; they directed it to *them*
 “ *who had for a long time been spared by the*
 “ *sword of the law*, and who they *believed*, from
 “ the peril of circumstances, should be sacrificed
 “ without delay. But I know that it is easy to
 “ *villains and traitors* to misrepresent this *effe-*
 “ *vescence*, and that it must be checked; I know
 “ that we owe to all France the declaration, that
 “ the *executive power* could not foresee or pre-
 “ vent

“ vent this excess. I know, that it is due to the
 “ constituted authorities to place a limit to it, or
 “ consider themselves as abolished.”

In the midst of this carnage he thinks of nothing but throwing a veil over it; which was at once to cover the guilty from punishment, and to extinguish all compassion for the sufferers. He apologises for it; in fact, he justifies it. He who (as the reader has just seen in what is quoted from this letter) feels so much indignation at “ vague denunciations” when made against *himself*, and from which he then feared nothing more than the subversion of his power, is not ashamed to consider the charge of a conspiracy to massacre the Parisians brought against his master upon denunciations as vague as possible, or rather upon no denunciations, as a perfect justification of the monstrous proceedings against him. He is not ashamed to call the murder of the unhappy priests in the *Carmes*, who were under no criminal denunciation whatsoever, “ a *vengeance* mingled with a *sort of justice* ;” he observes that “ they had been a long time spared by the sword of the law,” and calls by anticipation all those who should represent this “ *effervescence*” in other colours, vil-

lains and traitors: he did not then foresee, how soon himself and his accomplices would be under the necessity of assuming the pretended character of this new sort of "*villany and treason*," in the hope of obliterating the memory of their former real *villanies and treasons*:—he did not foresee, that in the course of six months a formal manifesto on the part of himself and his faction, written by his confederate Brissot, was to represent this "*effervescence*" as another "*St. Bartholomew*;" and speak of it as "*having made humanity shudder, and sullied the Revolution for ever.*"*

It is very remarkable that he takes upon himself to know the motives of the assassins, their policy, and even what they "*believed.*" How could this be if he had no connection with them? He praises the murderers for not having taken as yet *all* the lives of those who had, as he calls it, "*presented themselves as victims to their fury.*" He paints the miserable prisoners who had been forcibly piled upon one another in the church of the Carmelites, by his faction, as *presenting themselves* as victims to their

* See p. 12, and p. 13, of this translation.

fury ; as if death was their choice ; or, (allowing the idiom of his language to make this equivocal) as if they were by some accident *presented* to the fury of their assassins : whereas he knew, that the leaders of the murderers sought these pure and innocent victims in the places where they had deposited them, and were sure to find them. The very selection, which he praises as a *sort of justice* tempering their fury, proves beyond a doubt, the foresight, deliberation, and method with which this massacre was made. He knew that circumstance on the very day of the commencement of the massacres, when, in all probability, he had begun this letter, for he presented it to the Assembly on the very next.

Whilst, however, he defends these acts, he is conscious that they will appear in another light to the world. He therefore acquits the executive power, that is, he acquits himself (but only by his own assertion) of those acts “ of *vengeance mixed with a sort of justice*,” as “ an *excess* which he could neither foresee nor prevent.” He could not, he says, foresee these acts ; when he tells us, the people of Paris had sagacity so well to foresee the designs of the court on the 10th of August ; to
foresee

foresee them so well, as to mark the precise epoch, on which they were to be executed, and to contrive to anticipate them on the very day: he could not foresee these events, though he declares in this very letter that victory *must* bring with it some *excess*;—"that the sea roars *long* after the tempest." So far as to his foresight. As to his disposition to prevent, if he had foreseen the massacres of that day; this will be judged by his care in putting a stop to the massacre then going on. This was no matter of foresight. He was in the very midst of it. He does not so much as pretend, that he had used any force to put a stop to it. But if he had used any, the sanction given under his hand, to a sort of justice in the murderers, was enough to disarm the protecting force.

That approbation of what they had already done, had its natural effect on the executive assassins, then in the paroxysm of their fury, as well as on their employers, then in the midst of the execution of their deliberate cold-blooded system of murder. He did not at all differ from either of them in the principle of those executions, but only in the time of their duration; and that only as it affected himself. This, though to him a great consideration,

consideration, was none to his confederates, who were at the same time his rivals. They were encouraged to accomplish the work they had in hand. They did accomplish it; and whilst this grave moral epistle from a grave minister, recommending a cessation of their work of “vengeance mingled with a sort of justice” was before a grave assembly, the authors of the massacres proceeded without interruption in their business for four days together; that is, until the 7th of that month, and until all the victims of the first proscription in Paris and at Versailles, and several other places, were immolated at the shrine of the grim Moloch of liberty and equality.—All the priests, all the royalists, all the first essayists and novices of revolution in 1789, that could be found, were promiscuously put to death.

Through the whole of this long letter of Roland, it is curious to remark how the nerve and vigour of his style, which had spoken so potently to his sovereign, is relaxed, when he addresses himself to the *sans-culottes*; how that strength and dexterity of arm, with which he parries and beats down the scepter, is enfeebled and lost, when he comes to fence with the poignard! When he

speaks to the populace he can no longer be direct. The whole compass of the language is tried to find synonyms and circumlocutions for massacre and murder. Things are never called by their common names. Massacre is sometimes *agitation*, sometimes *effervescence*, sometimes *excess*; sometimes too continued an exercise of a *revolutionary power*.

However, after what had passed had been praised, or excused, or pardoned, he declares loudly against such proceedings in *future*. Crimes had pioneered and made smooth the way for the march of the virtues; and from that time, order and justice, and a sacred regard for personal property, were to become the rules for the new democracy. Here Roland and the Brissotins leagued for their own preservation, by endeavouring to preserve peace. This short story will render many of the parts of Brissot's pamphlet, in which Roland's views and intentions are so often alluded to, the more intelligible in themselves, and the more useful in their application by the English reader.

Under the cover of these artifices, Roland, Brissot, and their party hoped to gain the bankers, merchants, substantial tradesmen, hoarders of assignats,

signats, and purchasers of the confiscated lands of the clergy and gentry, to join with their party, as holding out some sort of security to the effects which they possessed, whether these effects were the acquisitions of fair commerce, or the gains of jobbing in the misfortunes of their country, and the plunder of their fellow citizens. In this design the party of Roland and Brissot succeeded in a great degree. They obtained a majority in the National Convention. Composed however as that Assembly is, their majority was far from steady; but, whilst they appeared to gain the Convention, and many of the outlying departments, they lost the city of Paris entirely and irrecoverably; it was fallen into the hands of Marat, Roberespierre, and Danton. Their instruments were the *Sans culottes*, or rabble, who domineered in that capital, and were wholly at the devotion of those incendiaries, and received their daily pay. The people of property were of no consequence, and trembled before Marat and his janissaries. As that great man had not obtained the helm of the state, it was not yet come to his turn to act the part of Brissot and his friends, in the assertion of subordination and regular government. But Roberespierre

has survived both these rival chiefs, and is now the great patron of Jacobin order.

To balance the exorbitant power of Paris (which threatened to leave nothing to the National Convention, but a character as insignificant as that which the first assembly had assigned to the unhappy Louis the Sixteenth) the faction of Brissot, whose leaders were Roland, Petion, Vergniaux, Isnard, Condorcet, &c. &c. &c. applied themselves to gain the great commercial towns, Lyons, Marseilles, Rouen, Nantz, and Bourdeaux. The republicans of the Brissotin description, to whom the concealed royalists, still very numerous, joined themselves, obtained a temporary superiority, in all these places. In Bourdeaux on account of the activity and eloquence of some of its representatives, this superiority was the most distinguished. This last city is seated on the Garonne or Gironde; and being the center of a department named from that river, the appellation of Girondists was given to the whole party. These and some other towns declared strongly against the principles of anarchy; and against the despotism of Paris. Numerous addresses

addresses were sent to the Convention, promising to maintain its authority, which the addressers were pleased to consider as legal and constitutional, though chosen, not to compose an executive government, but to form a plan for a constitution. In the Convention measures were taken to obtain an armed force from the several departments to maintain the freedom of that body, and to provide for the personal safety of the members; neither of which, from the 14th of July 1789 to this hour, have been really enjoyed by their assemblies sitting under any denomination.

This scheme, which was well conceived, had not the desired success. Paris, from which the Convention did not dare to move, though some threats of such a departure were from time to time thrown out, was too powerful for the party of Gironde. Some of the proposed guards, but neither with regularity nor in force, did indeed arrive; they were debauched as fast as they came; or were sent to the frontiers. The game played by the Revolutionists in 1789 with respect to the French guards of the unhappy King, was now played against the departmental guards, called together for the protection of the Revolutionists.

Every part of their own policy comes round, and strikes at their own power and their own lives.

The Parisians, on their part, were not slow in taking the alarm. They had just reason to apprehend, that if they permitted the smallest delay, they should see themselves besieged by an army collected from all parts of France. Violent threats were thrown out against that city in the Assembly. Its total destruction was menaced. A very remarkable expression was used in these debates, “that in future times it might be inquired on “what part of the Seine Paris had stood.” The faction which ruled in Paris, too bold to be intimidated, and too vigilant to be surprised, instantly armed themselves. In their turn they accused the Girondists of a treasonable design to break *the republic one and indivisible*, (whose unity as they contended could only be preserved by the supremacy of Paris) into a number of *confederate commonwealths*. The Girondin faction on this account received also the name of *federalists*.

Things on both sides hastened fast to extremities. Paris, the mother of equality, was herself to be equalized.—Matters were come to this alternative,

native,—either that city must be reduced to a mere member of the Federative Republic, or, the Convention, chosen, as they said, by all France, was to be brought regularly and systematically under the dominion of the Common-hall, and even of any one of the sections of Paris.

In this awful contest, thus brought to issue, the great mother club of the Jacobins was entirely in the Parisian interest. The Girondins no longer dared to shew their faces in that assembly. Nine tenths at least of the Jacobin Clubs throughout France, adhered to the great patriarchal Jacobiniere of Paris, to which they were (to use their own term) *affiliated*. No authority of magistracy, judicial or executive, had the least weight, whenever these clubs chose to interfere; and they chose to interfere in every thing, and on every occasion. All hope of gaining them to the support of property, or to the acknowledgement of any law but their own will, was evidently vain, and hopeless. Nothing but an armed insurrection against their anarchical authority, could answer the purpose of the Girondins.—Anarchy was to be cured by rebellion, as it had been caused by it.

As a preliminary to this attempt on the Jacobins and the commons of Paris, which it was hoped would be supported by all the remaining property of France, it became absolutely necessary to prepare a manifesto, laying before the public, the whole policy, genius, character, and conduct of the partisans of club government. To make this exposition as fully and clearly as it ought to be made, it was of the same unavoidable necessity to go through a series of transactions, in which all those concerned in this revolution, were at the several periods of their activity, deeply involved. In consequence of this design, and under these difficulties, Brissot prepared the following declaration of his party, which he executed with no small ability; and in this manner, the whole mystery of the French Revolution was laid open in all its parts.

It is almost needless to mention to the reader the fate of the design to which this pamphlet was to be subservient. The Jacobins of Paris were more prompt than their adversaries. They were the readiest to resort to what La Fayette calls the *most sacred of all duties, that of insurrection*. Another æra of holy insurrection, commenced
the

the 31st of last May. As the first fruits of that insurrection grafted on insurrection, and of that rebellion improving upon rebellion, the sacred irresponsible character of the members of the Convention was laughed to scorn. They had themselves shewn in their proceedings against the late King, how little the most fixed principles are to be relied upon, in their revolutionary constitution. The members of the Girondin party in the Convention, were seized upon or obliged to save themselves by flight. The unhappy author of this piece, with twenty of his associates, suffered together on the scaffold, after a trial, the iniquity of which puts all description to defiance.

The English reader will draw from this work of Brissot, and from the result of the last struggles of this party, some useful lessons. He will be enabled to judge of the information of those, who have undertaken to guide and enlighten us, and who, for reasons best known to themselves, have chosen to paint the French Revolution and its consequences in brilliant and flattering colours.—They will know how to appreciate the liberty of France, which has been so much magnified in England.—They will do justice to the wisdom,
and

and goodness of their Sovereign and his Parliament, who have put them into a state of defence, in the war, audaciously made upon us, in favour of that kind of liberty.—When we see (as here we must see) in their true colours the character and policy of our enemies, our gratitude will become an active principle. It will produce a strong and zealous co-operation with the efforts of our government, in favour of a constitution under which we enjoy advantages, the full value of which, the querulous weakness of human nature requires sometimes the opportunity of a comparison, to understand and to relish.

Our confidence in those who watch for the public will not be lessened. We shall be sensible that to alarm us in the late circumstances of our affairs, was not for our molestation, but for our security. We shall be sensible that this alarm was not ill timed—and that it ought to have been given, as it was given, before the enemy had time fully to mature and accomplish their plans, for reducing us to the condition of France, as that condition is faithfully and without exaggeration described in the following work. We now have our arms in our hands: we have the means of opposing the
 2 sense,

sense, the courage, and the resources of England, to the deepest, the most craftily devised, the best combined, and the most extensive design, that ever was carried on since the beginning of the world, against all property, all order, all religion, all law, and all real freedom.

The reader is requested to attend to the part of this pamphlet which relates to the conduct of the Jacobins, with regard to the Austrian Netherlands, which they call Belgia, or Belgium. It is from page 72 to page 84 of this translation. Here their views and designs upon all their neighbours are fully displayed. Here the whole mystery of their ferocious politics is laid open with the utmost clearness. Here the manner in which they would treat every nation into which they could introduce their doctrines and influence is distinctly marked. We see that no nation was out of danger, and we see what the danger was with which every nation was threatened. The writer of this pamphlet throws the blame of several of the most violent of the proceedings on the other party. He and his friends, at the time alluded to, had a majority in the National Assembly. He admits that neither he nor they *ever publicly*
e opposed

opposed these measures; but he attributes their silence, to a fear of rendering themselves suspected. It is most certain, that whether from fear, or from approbation, they never discovered any dislike of those proceedings, till Dumourier was driven from the Netherlands. But whatever their motive was, it is plain that the most violent is, and since the revolution has always been, the predominant party.

If Europe could not be saved without our interposition, (most certainly it could not) I am sure there is not an Englishman, who would not blush to be left out of the general effort made in favour of the general safety. But we are not secondary parties in this war; *we are principals in the danger, and ought to be principals in the exertion.* If any Englishman asks whether the designs of the French assassins are confined to the spot of Europe which they actually desolate, the citizen Brissot, the author of this book, and the author of the declaration of war against England, will give him his answer. He will find in this book, that the republicans are divided into factions, full of the most furious and destructive animosity against each other; but he will find
also

also that there is one point in which they perfectly agree—that they are all enemies alike, to the government of all other nations, and only contend with each other about the means of propagating their tenets, and extending their empire by conquest.

It is true, that in this present work, which the author professedly designed for an appeal to foreign nations and posterity, he has dressed up the philosophy of his own faction in as decent a garb as he could to make her appearance in public : but through every disguise her hideous figure may be distinctly seen. If, however, the reader still wishes to see her in all her naked deformity, I would further refer him to a private letter of Brissot written towards the end of the last year, and quoted in a late very able pamphlet of Mallet du Pan. “ We must,” (says our philosopher) “ *set fire to* “ *the four corners of Europe;*” in that alone is “ our safety. *Dumourier cannot suit us, I al-* “ *ways distrusted him. Miranda is the general* “ *for us; he understands the revolutionary pow-* “ *er, he has courage, lights, &c.*” * Here every

* See the translation of Mallet Du Pan's work, printed for Owen, page 53.

thing is fairly avowed in plain language. The triumph of philosophy is the universal conflagration of Europe ; the only real dissatisfaction with Dumourier is a suspicion of his moderation ; and the secret motive of that preference, which in this very pamphlet the author gives to Miranda, though without assigning his reasons, is declared to be the superior fitness of that foreign adventurer for the purposes of subversion and destruction.—On the other hand, if there can be any man in this country so hardy as to undertake the defence or the apology of the present monstrous usurpers of France ; and if it should be said in their favour, that it is not just to credit the charges of their enemy Brissot against them, who have actually tried and condemned him on the very same charges among others ; we are luckily supplied with the best possible evidence in support of this part of his book against them : it comes from among themselves. Camille Desmoulins published the “ History of the Brissotins ” in answer to this very address of Brissot. It was the counter-manifesto of the last Holy Revolution of the 31st of May ; and the flagitious orthodoxy of his writings at that period has been admitted in the late scrutiny of him by
the

the Jacobin Club, when they saved him from that guillotine " which he grazed." In the beginning of his work he displays " the task of glory," as he calls it, which presented itself at the opening of the Convention. All is summed up in two points : " to create the French republic, and to " *disorganize Europe ; perhaps to purge it of its* " *tyrants by the eruption of the volcanic prin-* " *ciples of equality.**" The coincidence is exact ; the proof is complete and irresistible.

In a cause like this, and in a time like the present, there is no neutrality. They who are not actively, and with decision and energy, against Jacobinism, are its partisans. They who do not dread it, love it. It cannot be viewed with indifference. It is a thing, made to produce a powerful impression on the feelings. Such is the nature of Jacobinism, such is the nature of man, that this system must be regarded either with enthusiastic admiration, or with the highest degree of detestation, resentment, and horror.

Another great lesson may be taught by this book, and by the fortune of the author, and his party :

* See the translation of the History of the Brissotins, by Camille Desmoulins, printed for Owen, p. 2.

I mean a lesson drawn from the consequences of engaging in daring innovations, from an hope that we may be able to limit their mischievous operation at our pleasure, and by our policy to secure ourselves against the effect of the evil examples we hold out to the world. This lesson is taught through almost all the important pages of history : but never has it been taught so clearly and so awfully as at this hour. The revolutionists who have just suffered an ignominious death, under the sentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal (a tribunal composed of those with whom they had triumphed in the total destruction of the ancient government) were by no means ordinary men, or without very considerable talents and resources. But with all their talents and resources, and the apparent momentary extent of their power, we see the fate of their projects, their power, and their persons. We see before our eyes the absurdity of thinking to establish order upon principles of confusion, or with the materials and instruments of rebellion, to build up a solid and stable government.

Such partisans of a republic amongst us, as may not have the worst intentions, will see, that the principles

principles, the plans, the manners, the morals, and the whole system of France, is altogether as adverse to the formation and duration of any rational scheme of a republic, as it is to that of a monarchy absolute or limited. It is indeed a system which can only answer the purposes of robbers and murderers.

The translator has only to say for himself that he has found some difficulty in this version. His original author, through haste, perhaps, or through the perturbation of a mind filled with a great and arduous enterprize, is often obscure. There are some passages too, in which his language requires to be first translated into French, at least into such French as the academy would in former times have tolerated. He writes with great force and vivacity; but the language, like every thing else in his country, has undergone a revolution. The translator thought it best to be as literal as possible; conceiving such a translation would perhaps be the most fit to convey the author's peculiar mode of thinking. In this way the translator has no credit for style; but he makes it up in fidelity.

Indeed

Indeed the facts and observations are so much more important than the style, that no apology is wanted for producing them in any intelligible manner.

The Author's Advertisement.

THE whole truth has never been told from the beginning of the Revolution. Men were afraid that in telling it they should hurt the cause of liberty; that they should dishonour it, that they should discourage the people, that they should embarrass the progress of affairs. This circumspection is proper, and even necessary, when nations owe their salvation to particular men, or particular bodies of men; but it becomes fatal when the nation only can be the means of saving itself. To conceal from a nation its own situation is to nurse its lethargy. It cannot be led to make great efforts, and to give them their proper direction without being fully informed of that situation.

Such is our present position, and *such the motive* which has engaged me to tear away entirely the veil which hides from us the cause of our evils.

It may, perhaps, be thought that I have been too severe towards many individuals, and to many bodies of men. I have told the truth; it was my duty to do so, and if I have any cause of regret, it is, that the rapidity with which this work has been written and printed, has not permitted me to bring together all the circumstances which might be necessary to give a just idea of men and things.

There is, however, one body to whom I ought here to do justice ; it is the Revolutionary Tribunal. I have elsewhere mentioned the mischief done by that body ; I must here relate the good they have since done. They conducted themselves in Miranda's trial with the integrity, the firmness, the impartiality, that was to be expected from true Republicans. May they persevere in the same spirit, and posterity will pardon the other judgements with which they might justly be reproached.

This homage which I pay to this tribunal, I will pay to all my enemies, when they shall do what is right ; for my pen is never carried away by passion. I am under the dominion but of one passion when I write, the love of liberty. The desire of seeing a Republican Government established in my country, *and philosophy triumphant every where*, that is the passion of my life ; the disappointment of which has sometimes produced that violence of expression of which I am accused.

Oh ! how afflicting it is for a man who has seen the Revolution advanced to a point, *to which four years ago it would have been folly to imagine it could be carried!* How afflicting is it to see that Revolution falling back, while every thing was co-operating for its establishment ! After all the experience that has been obtained, shall all be lost *to liberty, to other nations, to future revolutions?* No ; if the nation can succeed in establishing ORDER within her own bosom---On that word depends the liberty of the universe, and it is for that alone I write.

Paris, May 22, 1793,
the 2d Year of the
French Republic.

J. P. BRISSOT

TO HIS

CONSTITUENTS.

It is time that our fellow citizens, that foreign nations should judge between us and our adversaries. It is time that it should be seen who the men are who wish to save the Republic, and who the men are who wish to destroy it. The evil is at its height; mystery would be but a dangerous palliative.*

I HAVE announced from the commencement of the Convention, that there is in France a party of disorganisers, who aimed at the destruction of the Republic, even in its cradle.

The existence of this party has been denied. All sincere sceptics ought now to be convinced.

I now mean to prove, 1st. That this party of anarchists has domineered, and does domineer, over almost all the deliberations of the Convention, and all the operations of the Executive Council.

2d. That this party has been, and is still, the sole cause of all the evils, as well interior as exterior, which afflict France.

3. That the Republic cannot be saved but by taking rigorous measures to rescue the

* The translator prefixes the above little note, because his author does so. The reader will find it repeated in the body of the work, p. 14.

representatives of the nation from the despotism of this faction.

I dread the abuse of words ; it is this abuse that gives so much strength to political quacks. It must therefore be our first business rightly to define that anarchy which knaves dexterously confound with patriotism. It must be defined before I present the hideous picture of its crimes, before I offer the remedy for our distempers.

The laws without execution ; the constituted authorities impotent and disgraced ; crimes unpunished ; property of every kind attacked ; personal safety violated ; the morals of the people corrupted ; no constitution ; no government ; no justice.—Such are the true features of this anarchy ; such is precisely the system uniformly followed by the party that I have denounced : a system which has appeared to me subversive of all republican government. For that reason, before I enter upon my subject, I must set forth the principles which have guided me, as well as all the other respectable deputies to whom I have the honour of calling myself a friend.

It was my opinion on coming into the Convention, that since Royalty was annihilated ; since the Republic was established ; since all the powers of government were in the hands of the people, or their representatives, the patriots ought to change the line of their march in consequence of the change in their position.

It was my opinion that *the insurrectional movements* ought to cease ; because, where there is no longer any tyranny to demolish, there ought no longer to *exist any force in a state of insurrection* ; because, where to build is our business alone, there, nothing is wanted but order and reason.

I was

I was aware that at the end of a Revolution, of three years standing, it was difficult enough, all at once, to calm the commotions of the people; because their agitation was the natural effect of the force of events; because it was the first time that the people had ever been in the full exercise of their own authority; because a people just emerging from slavery is a child, and that it is *quite natural* that they also should sometimes break to pieces their own work, and rise against the very authorities that they themselves had created.

But I thought at the same time that if those popular impulses which throw society into terrible convulsions were continued *too long*, the people in that case would tear *themselves* to pieces, conceiving they were only destroying their *instruments*.

It was my opinion, that they would soon come to regret the lethargic tranquillity of their former bondage, if care was not taken to procure for them a republican tranquillity, because the people wished to be happy; because they more especially wish it, when they have made great and long sacrifices; because happiness does not at all consist in the eternal repetition of violent convulsions, and if robbers live by seditions, the people live by repose.

My opinion was, that order alone could procure this tranquillity; that order consisted in a religious respect for the laws, the magistrates, property of all kinds, and personal safety; that this order could only result from the due execution of the laws; and that the laws could not be executed, but by investing all the constituted authorities with power, respect, and confidence.

I was

I was of opinion, that it was easy to surround them with this power, this respect, this confidence; since, after the victory of the 10th of August, the patriotic party of necessity became masters; since there were *some* good laws in existence; since those that were bad, might be easily repealed, as there no longer remained any opposition; and since the ministry, the tribunals, the administrations of the departments, every thing was capable of being, and every thing, almost every where, actually was of a popular composition.

I was of opinion, that the establishment of this provisional order was the best answer that could be made to the royalists, and to the aristocrats, who are eternally repeating, that order is incompatible with a Republican constitution; and that this constitution does not suit a vast country, and a population of 25 millions.

I was of opinion, that the establishment of that order was the surest means of facilitating a supply of recruits, and provisions for our armies; of lowering the price of the necessaries of life; of putting our manufacturers to work; of keeping up the credit of our assignats; and of accelerating the sale of the national estates, and the estates of the emigrants.

I consequently thought, that order was a *true revolutionary measure*; since on one side it tended to confirm our revolution at home; since on the other, it gave us powerful means of contending with our enemies abroad; since, finally, it rendered that revolution honourable and dear in the eyes of foreign nations, whose esteem and affection to us it conciliated.

I conceived that this doctrine was as good and more useful for the citizen who does *not* possess any thing,

thing, than for the citizen who possesses property. Because the first can live only by his constant labour, and that there can be no constant work where there is not a constant safety, both of life and of property, to the rich.

I thought then, that the truest enemies of the People, and of the Republic, were the anarchists, the preachers up of an Agrarian law, the instigators of sedition.

I was of opinion, that all insurrection could not but be fatal to the people, and to liberty, since it could be directed only against the representatives of the people.

I conceived that this *doctrine of eternal insurrection* must draw after it pillage and massacres, which must weary out and disgust the nation with the republican form of government.

I thought that the dissolution of this government could only be effected in two ways :

Either, that the Convention, subjugated by the anarchists, should fall into contempt, and should issue decrees that would prove revolting and destructive to all the departments, and they all should demand the renovation of that assembly by an insurrection against the factious ; or, that our external enemies, availing themselves of these convulsions, might invade the Republic ; might share it out among themselves ; or might second the attempts of the first ambitious man who should endeavour to re-establish the first Constitution, or the ancient despotism.

I consequently thought that all my efforts ought to be directed against the anarchists ; since they were the most formidable enemies to the establishment of the Republic.

Such

Such is the system that has uniformly guided me in the Convention. I have, therefore, never ceased to mark out the anarchists of all sorts; both the fools who talk of nothing but disorganizing, when it is our business to organize; and the knaves, whose sole view is to acquire riches and dominion to themselves by their revolutionary power; and the aristocrats and the royalists in disguise, who coalesce with them, in hopes, through disorder, to restore the ancient government. I have never ceased to unmask their manœuvres, because I saw in them the certain ruin of liberty.

It is in the same spirit that all those courageous men have joined me in the conflict, who have first been delivered over to ignominy, and then to the daggers of assassins under the names of Rolandines, Girondines, &c. &c.

And have we not reason to dread the fatal influence of the anarchists? Take a view of all that has been done by the Convention, by the Executive Council, by our Armies! You will find this fatal influence every where alike.

It is time that truth should be shewn stark naked. It is time that our fellow-citizens, that foreign nations, should judge between us and our adversaries. It is time that it should be seen who the men are who wished to save the Republic, and who the men are who wished to destroy it. The evil is at its height. Mystery would be but a dangerous palliative; mystery would expose the Republic to ruin. For now the Republic only can work its own salvation; it must therefore be made acquainted with every thing of which it is now ignorant.

Far be from me the idea of wishing to disparage the Convention ; I would shed the last drop of my blood to see the Convention honoured and revered universally. Alas ! what miracles would it not have wrought, *if it had been left to its own direction, divested of all external influence ; if reason only had presided in its deliberations.* Enlightened wisdom, patriotism, ardent love of republicanism, incorruptible probity—all these were united in this body ! These were the characters of a great majority of its members. Some *twenty men* have palsied and degraded it. Tears of blood ought to flow from the eyes of all Republicans. *Liberty might so easily have found no other boundaries than those of the world, and now she must sorrowfully confine herself within the limits of France.* Can she solidly establish herself even there ? This is still, and I speak it with grief, this is still a problem. And why is it so ? Because *a score of anarchists* have usurped in the Convention, and over the constituted authorities throughout the whole empire, an influence which reason alone ought to possess.

Citizens of the departments ! you are confounded, annihilated ! *What, twenty men ?* Yes ! Ye, who still doubt it, follow me in the enumeration of facts. It is with the documents in my hand, that I will convince the credulous. Whatever good the Convention has done, the anarchists have found the secret of rendering null and void. Whatever mischief it has done, they have dictated.

Follow the debates, you will there see on one hand, men always occupied with the care of making the laws, the constituted authorities, and private property, respected ; and on the other side, men

always employed to keep the people in agitation ; to discredit by calumnies the constituted authority ; to protect crimes by impunity, and to relax all the bonds of society.

In the midst of this conflict, you will see the majority of the Convention, pure, sound, attached to principles, incessantly turning their attention towards the law, and incessantly too, suffering themselves to be led by those who destroy it. One verse describes them ; but how shocking is this verse !

————— Video meliora proboque ;
Deteriora sequor————

Thus, you will first see them adopt unanimously the principle of a *departmental force*, proposed by Buzot ; that principle which would have insured the independence of their deliberations ; that principle which would have consecrated the unity and indivisibility of the Republic ; that principle which, carried into execution, would have deprived the banditti of that force which they abused, *in order to hold the national representation in slavery* : you will see them, then (affrighted by calumnious insinuations, by the words so often repeated, *Prætorian Guards* ; words which insulted the love of liberty in Frenchmen,) abandon this proposition. From that moment the violation of the freedom of opinion takes its date.

You will see them next applaud the project of a decree, proposed by Buzot, against the instigators of murder ; feel the necessity of putting a stop to incendiary writings, which every day inflamed the banditti, and then bury in silence that salutary project

project which the anarchists so furiously opposed.

You will next see them sanction with their unanimous votes, the exclusion of Members of the Convention from places during six years, which was proposed by Genfonné—an exclusion which proved the disinterestedness of the party accused of aiming at the government; which condemned the ambition of the anarchists to silence; and which forced them to give a Constitution, pure and disengaged from all secret and particular views—you will see them afterwards commit this wise decree, upon the re-iterated instances of the chiefs of the anarchists themselves. For the first object of their ambition—is Places; their aim is to domineer to-day, and also to domineer to-morrow.

You will then see the Convention moved by the charges of triumvirate, and dictatorship, preferred against Robespierre and his accomplices; convinced that they had degraded and endeavoured to dissolve the legislative assembly; and convinced that they wished to lord it over France, welcome in consequence the noble and spirited accusation of Louvet against Robespierre and Marat. You will see them in the next instant, after the most miserable justification of Robespierre from these denunciations, pass to the order of the day, and thus insure the triumph of the anarchists, under pretence of *busying themselves no longer about these little undertakers of revolutions*, to make use of the words of Barrere. Barrere, however, forgot, that not to punish *these little undertakers* is to encourage them, and that being encouraged, they find in their audacity the secret of forcing the

Convention to be eternally busied about them : the event has proved it.

You will see them, under a sudden terror both of the views and the strength of the Orleans party, receive almost unanimously the proposition made by Louvet and Buzot, to banish the whole Bourbon family from the land of liberty. You will see them afterwards imposed upon by a stage trick, and fatigued by vociferations, suspend the execution of this salutary decree, and restore their leader to the anarchists ; for a leader they were resolved to have : Chabot avowed it in the rostrum.

You will see them (the Convention) now penetrated with an holy horror at the massacres of the 2d of September.—The massacres which were only the engine of the conspiracy, framed for the purpose of dissolving the legislative assembly and forthwith investing the municipality of Paris, or rather those who lead it, with supreme power.—The massacres (I say) which have made humanity shudder, sullied the revolution for ever, and alienated foreign nations from us for many a day.

You will see them one moment, drive from them with indignation the accomplices and apologists of those massacres, who did not blush loudly to stile these enormities *the grand creed of Jacobin liberty* ;* You will see them order the prosecution of those massacres on the motion of Genoué, and order it the next day after the condemnation of Louis, for the purpose of proving to the world, their justice and impartiality. You will then see the Convention affrighted by

* A phrase of Collet d'Herbois to the Jacobins.

false terrors dexterously spread about, respecting the renewal of that St. Bartholomew, not only suspend that proceeding, and thus plunge France and all nations in mourning, but even confer the most honourable and the most important missions upon these atrocious *Septembrizers*,* who, all covered with blood and with mud, obliged the departments to go as it were on their knees before them.

You will see them first swayed by political reasons, by the interest of the nation, by the interest of the Convention, by the necessity of paying, at least for once, their homage to the "*Sovereignty of the People*"—You will see them, I say, incline by a great majority to the plan of referring to the people, the ratification of the sentence of Louis, and then immediately yielding to calumnious insinuations, to vociferations, to terrors, to sophisms of versatile men, abandon that party which would have crushed all factions, and deprived the Kings, who were then combined against us, or who at that time kept neuter, of a new pretext for war, and the means of making all their people fanatics against the French Revolution.

You will see them (the Convention) one moment, indignant at the pillage of the 26th of February, devised to excite the citizens of Paris against the Convention, and to make it contemptible, order the punishment of those flagitious acts, and then resign to oblivion the expiation of a crime, which

* An epithet of the Prussian Cloots, a title invented by him, to immortalize the authors of the massacres of September.

more than any other enables us to appreciate the audacity of the factious, the weakness of the constituted authorities, and the depravity both of the people who pillaged, and of the people who suffered the pillage—a crime which, of all others, was the best adapted to raise the hopes of our external enemies, and to increase the surfeit of liberty.

You will next see them thoroughly convinced of the impossibility of setting bounds to the intestine dissensions raised in the very bosom of the Convention, and to the mutual and perpetual accusations from the two parties, without bringing the nation to decide between them; you will see them, I say, repeatedly receive with transport the motion for calling together the primary assemblies—a motion so often made by Genfonné and Gaudet. You will presently see them repeat these decrees, and yield to false terrors, respecting the troubles the meeting of those assemblies *might* occasion—Terrors, under which the anarchists disguise their *fears of the judgement of the People*.

You will see them, convinced that the goodness of laws must depend upon the sobriety with which they are deliberated upon, and that the respect for the law depends also upon the respect in which the legislator himself is held, adopt and rigidly maintain the decree which prohibited the galleries from giving any mark of approbation or disapprobation:—and never did the Convention shew a prospect more pleasing to reason and liberty; never did the anarchists possess less influence. You will then see them allow this decree to be violated, and this salutary law to be torn to pieces, by those men who detest tranquillity,
and

and dignity of deliberation, because they expose the nakedness of their entire insignificance.

In short, run over all the laws of the Convention, and you will see the very best decrees, passed upon the most mature discussion, repealed in a single instant.

What then is the source of all these changes ?

With one single Word you might compose the greatest part of the history of THREE assemblies. This word is—FEAR.

FEAR sanctified the *revision of the Constitution*, and occasioned its being adopted.

Fear of Republicanism, in the time of the legislative assembly, ranged the independents on the side of the Feuillants ; and *Fear* has in a great measure produced all the variations in the Convention.

Fear does not always shew itself under the same character. Accordingly the anarchists have the art to vary the form, in order the more effectually to excite it ; and through *Fear*, to drag mankind along with them.

To men independent by system, and distrustful from jealousy, they pointed out those republicans who were the friends to order, as a party directed by men of deep ambition, who meant to engross all benefits to themselves. Their talents gave colour to the accusation ; their virtues made their crime the more dangerous ; order was represented as their mask ; the name of the law as their watchword. So that the fear of wearing the livery of that party drove away this class of independents from the cause of order.

To the suspicious men distrustful of good, and credulous of evil, they negligently dropped certain doubts,

doubts (which they even pretended to repel) insinuating *corruption* among the friends of order. They traced back their former connections; they observed upon their connections with ministers, and the conformity of their language with *that* of the Feuillants; and thus the *Fear* of treason made them ready to take treason upon trust; and they resisted order from *Fear* of appearing to be in concert with the corrupt, and the tools of ministerial power.

To men who desired to stamp upon their decisions the characters of principles and of exact justice; and who would not condemn without hearing, nor without proofs, they said, "*we are in a state of revolution*;" and if they still stood up for justice, they were given to understand, that so much resistance might make themselves suspected of being accomplices. *Nam, qui deliberant desciverunt*, to deliberate is to be guilty of treason; that is the maxim of the anarchists. *Fear* of suspicion then made them to contribute to injustice; and this is the reason why nobody has protested against so many decrees of accusation, the iniquity of which time has demonstrated. Men were afraid of being suspected as accomplices, and that is the reason why men have stood up against the cause of order; after that the anarchists had found out the secret to render order odious, by translating it into a term synonymous to Aristocracy.

There is little freedom of opinion where the fear of calumny prevails; there is still less, when that calumny may lead to a *physical assassination*, as it certainly does lead to moral assassination. For there are few men who have strength of mind enough at once to brave (I will not say death) *but the incessantly renewed fear of death*, and the daily
torture

torture of unjust reproach. It is with this two-edged weapon that the anarchists have found means to bring under the yoke, and to harness to their triumphant car *the aristocrats of property*, who dreaded *physical* assassination, and the pretended independents, who dreaded a moral assassination.

A very curious study is—The progress of fear, and the address which it employs in its justification; but a most melancholy study is that of the mischief it has done.

At the outset of the Convention, almost all the members, disgusted and shocked at the anarchical maxims, and the insolent boldness of men, who made no secret of their resolution to be our masters, received almost unanimously every proposition which tended to humble and crush them. At that time, on arriving from his home, every deputy wished to prove to his constituents his respect for order, and for *the equality of the departments*. Insensibly the members begin to go a little about, *to hold converse with the terrors of the Parisian name*; they hear the blood-thirsty motions of the Jacobin Club; they learn with horror the *unknown details* of the massacre of the 2d of September. They stand in dread of the renewal of it. *Above all, they stand in dread of being themselves the victims*; they imagine that in making some sacrifices, they may appease the anarchists; they are therefore complaisant with regard to their inaccuracy in accounts, and to the deficit; complaisant to the usurpation of authority; *complaisant to robbery and murder*.

The same *complaisance*, together with the fear that dictates it, brings over *the executive council*,

the inferior administrations, the tribunals, and the very men who had shewn the greatest horror at the system of the anarchists. Every one says to himself, "if the Convention is obliged to capitulate with a gang of robbers, how can I have the folly to think of contending with them?"

They do more; they give the name of patriotism to these acts of weakness dictated by personal fear. They deceive themselves. They believe that they have nothing but peace for their object, when their real object is the desire of personal safety; they contend strenuously against those who combat this weakness; and to justify themselves, they begin to suspect the justness of the judgement of those who are now their adversaries; and they end by calumniating the honesty of their intentions.

Weak men, whose honesty I will not accuse, behold now, what you have done! behold the abyss into which your fatal system of eternal compromise and concession has precipitated us. If we are at this moment the slaves of the anarchists, it is you who have prepared, who have rivetted our chains.

For what has been the fruit of your complaisance to them? The banditti have had the audaciousness to raise their head: from being the accused, they have transformed themselves into the accusers; from silent spectators of our debates, they are become the judges of them. Yesterday at the feet of the Convention—to-day they trample its dignity under their feet; masters of the Convention, through *disorder*, they would extend their domination over all France, and eternize it by *disorder*. It is the proceeding of ambitious agitators. *Rerum* (says Tacitus) *potiri volunt; honores,*

*honores, quos quietâ republicâ, desperant, perlurbata, consequi se posse, arbitrantur.**

Trace *their* steps with me !

These are the men who, making themselves masters of the rostrum, have banished from it all wise and regular discussions ; who by concerted motions of order, have incessantly brought on disorder ; and who have opposed the censorial institutions proposed by Bancal and Mellinet ; institutions which, doubtless, would have destroyed all the influence of clamour and abuse, and have restored the influence of men of real information, now condemned to silence.

They are the men who, fulying the rostrum with perpetual denunciations, have reduced men of virtue to the necessity of putting themselves on the defensive ; when such only ought to have been accusers ; and who, afterwards imputing that very defence as a crime, have thrust aside their justification under the pretext of avoiding personalities ; because they had exhausted calumny, and dreaded the refutation of it. Thus they every day vented fresh calamities, and passed to the order of the day, when the time of justification arrived.

They are the men who, perpetual dictators of the *committee of the inspectors of the hall*, have found out the secret of filling the galleries with creatures of their own, hired to applaud their extravagances, and to hoot their adversaries ; who have tolerated and projected, even within its very walls, the sale of the most opprobrious publications against the Convention, under the cloak of the liberty of the

* *Translator.*] The excellent passage applied by M. Brissot to his adversaries, may with equal propriety be applied to himself. The judicious reader will extend the application as far and as often as he sees it necessary,

press ; that liberty which they have not afterwards blushed to violate, in order to prevent the circulation of republican and anti-anarchical journals through the departments. For has it ever been attempted to reform the abuses which make the circumference of the hall a *stage of gladiators*, and its environs the *lurking places of assassination* ? Has it been attempted to punish the so frequent imprecations, outrages, and insurrections of the galleries ? No ! people pretended not to hear them. This dissimulation affected to be prudence ; *quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocabatur*, says Tacitus.

They are the men who, having the *committee of general safety* in their hands, and always in their hands, availed themselves of the error the Assembly fell into upon the assassination of Pelletier, in order to drive their adversaries out of that Committee, and to take possession of it themselves ; they are the men who, being masters of the Committee, availed themselves of its resources to conspire against the republicans, friends of order, rather than to suppress the aristocrats ; who protecting the incendiary Përe Duchene and Marat, have harassed the writers against anarchy by their persecutions ; who multiplying arrests against them, have never, in spite of the decrees to that effect, given any account of such arrests to the Assembly ; who have buried every thing in mystery, even the denunciation of conspiracies against the Convention. . And this committee continues not only unpunished, but Lord and Master.

They are the men who have been the authors of *all the farces*, that were successively played at the bar ; whether to intimidate the assembly, to impede them

them in their progress, to sow discord among the members, or to disgrace and dissolve the Convention.

They are the men who stirred up the accusation of the imaginary million and a half which calumny distributed among the members of weight and influence in the Legislative Assembly; who were the authors of the petitions from the workmen employed on the camp at Paris, styling themselves the *Nation*, and wanting to put their own indemnity on a level with that of the deputies; of those insolent petitions against the pretended moderatism of the Assembly, as well as of those humiliating lessons which pretended federalists came so often to read them.

They are the men who, after having extorted millions from the Convention to keep down the price of bread at Paris (that is to say, *after having taxed all France for the benefit of Paris alone*) in the name of the sections, never ceased to weary the Convention with petitions to fix the price of all sorts of grain; because they knew that this established price would necessarily bring on a famine, and that famine would necessarily produce an insurrection against the Convention, the dissolution of that body, and the restoration of Royalty. It was in the same spirit that Maury wanted the suppression of taxes; and it is not the only similarity between the anarchists and the aristocrats of the Constituent Assembly.

They are the men who, after having solicited those addresses, those incendiary petitions, and those insolent deputations, disavowed them, and hypocritically condemned them, when the Convention,
irritated

irritated at this conduct, was going to proceed severely against them ; and who carrying their perfidy still farther, imputed them to their adversaries,* *as they have always imputed to them the commotions, the pillages, and the burnings, which they themselves advise or execute.*

They are the men who have incessantly opposed the decrees for public education, because they knew that the *education* of the people is the most powerful antidote against revolts, and famine ; and above all, against the quackery of agitators ; *and education is annihilated.*

They are the men who, for the perpetuation of their own power, finding it necessary to perpetuate disorders, have divided society into two classes ; those who have something, and those who have nothing, the *Sans Culottes* and the *Men of property* ; who have excited one of these classes against the other ; who, in order to ruin the latter class, wanted to have an army composed exclusively of persons, all of the former class, and paid *compulsorily* by the latter, and this army has been decreed.

They are the men who, in order to effect the dissolution of the Convention, have endeavoured to divide it into two parties : while (setting aside themselves) the whole Convention has but one spirit ; who have invented the distinction of a *right hand side* and of a *left hand side* ; and the denomination of *appellants* and *non-appellants* ; who have charged the opinions of the former as a crime, and a title for the reproach and hatred of the people ; that opinion so politic, so salutary, so honourable to the people ; and who have never ceased to raise

* *Translator.*] The practice of the French revolutionists from the beginning against the aristocrats,

up against their adversaries, addressees, poignards, and scaffolds.

They are the men who, not being able to succeed in dissolving the Convention by this line of demarcation between the appellants and the non-appellants, have endeavoured to trench upon the complete and entire state of the national representation, in pointing out TWENTY-TWO of its members whom they feared the most, and loudly called for their expulsion sometimes, and sometimes for their murder; and the Assembly, after having declared the petition against these twenty-two proscribed men to be calumnious, has suffered, has been forced to suffer, the commonalty, and many sections of Paris, to ordain with still more fury and insolence the *compulsory* signature of that petition! The Convention has suffered the vilest means, and the most illegal, to be employed to force the citizens to sign. Would such outrages be still unpunished if the Convention was free, or if it enjoyed that power with which such an assembly ought to be surrounded?

But is it possible to mistake the end, the real end which the anarchists propose to themselves in their cruel earnestness against the twenty-two proscribed persons?

When Cromwell wished to get the command of the long parliament of England, in order to dissolve it afterwards, he ordered also an expulsion of all true republicans; who could not endure either a king or an usurper. Colonel Pride arrested and imprisoned, by Cromwell's order, sixty of the firmest members; he drove away one hundred more, and the remainder, devoted to the perfidious Cromwell, were, in his hands, nothing but *a machine for making decrees*, which he broke
presently

presently after, as soon as the machine thought of revolting against the workman who put in in motion.

Well ! this is *Colonel Pride's purge* (as it was called at the time,) which they want to repeat in the Convention ; because the chiefs of the anarchists expect from it the same effects ; and because they see that the dissolution of the Convention would make room for the throne, which is preparing itself for an usurper.

If this constant object of domination and of the dissolution of the Convention has been marked out by any events ; if there is any event which proves with the highest degree of evidence, on one side, the wickedness and the power of the anarchists ; and on the other side, the impotence and the abasement of the Convention, it is the forced, the commanded impunity of the conspiracy of the 10th of March, the impunity of Marat, the impunity of the Commune and of certain sections of Paris ; in a word, the impunity of the chiefs of the Jacobins of Paris.

Is there, in fact, one man of reflection, who having brought together into one view all the circumstances of that audacious conspiracy of the 10th of March, who after reading and meditating on that eloquent, but too delicate discourse of Vergniaud, and that profound publication of Louvet, must not be convinced that the existence of that conspiracy is physically demonstrated ? With what art did they, two days before, bring on the question of the permanency of the Convention ! It offered so fine an opportunity to the assassins, to comprehend in a single blow, in a single night, in a single massacre, all the heads of all the Republicans.

These

With what art did they dress out, in the colours of patriotism, the *Revolutionary Tribunal*; that instrument, created by the conspirators, either to deter the simple citizens who might otherwise attempt to oppose themselves to their fury, or perhaps to destroy by the sword of the law those republican deputies, who might escape the dagger of the assassins! Ferocious men! they would surpass Cromwell himself in cruelty; for Cromwell imprisoned the members of parliament who displeased him, but he did not assassinate them by means of the law. With what address did they take care utterly to remove from their odious institution all those salutary forms, which are the protection of innocence! They would not admit juries. They feared that they might persuade themselves to entertain a good conscience; and as to the anarchists, conscience is with them but a counter-revolutionary word. The assembly, however, refused to violate its principle. They obtained their end in another manner;—they insisted that the jurors * should give their respective voices aloud in court!—Aloud in court! *When it was known that this tribunal too, would have its galleries under the direction of the conspirators!*—Aloud in court! When it was known that *this mode alone would have enabled the Convention to have chosen the vilest wretches for members of the jury!*—Is it not saying to the jurymen, “either you shall perish yourself, or you shall make them perish whom we shall mark out to you?” Gaudet was not afraid to assert this in the rostrum

If, indeed, they can be called jurors, whom the party accused can neither choose nor reject, and who are perpetual in that office---it is, in truth, a commission of judges.

amidst the bellowings of those monsters. The assembly thought as Gaudet thought; it condemned the principle. So irresistible was the influence of the conspirators, *that they made them decree over again, in contradiction to all principle, that the jurors should be chosen by them, the Convention!* without doubt that the hatred which this tribunal should heap upon its own head, might ultimately return back upon the Convention.*

The scrutiny at once deceived their hopes. Good men prevailed—they were to compose this dreadful tribunal. Anarchy, in its turn, trembled for the heads of its chiefs; anarchy was on the point of falsifying this Revolutionary Tribunal; but the necessity of giving the suffrage aloud in court; but the terror spread abroad by the people about the assassins, drove away the friends of justice and order, who had been just nominated, and they left their places to such men. Would you appreciate their value? Read the minutes of their proceedings; their interrogatories; their judgements. They make one's hair perfectly stand on end! *Yes, if it is a tribunal fit to make one regret the Bastiles of Despotism*, if it is an institution proper for ripening and rapidly bringing back a counter-revolution in favour of loyalty, it is also a tribunal as arbitrary in its forms, as absurd, as partial in its proofs, as iniquitous in some of its judgements.

It was by a similar tribunal that the counter-revolution was hastened in England at the end of the last century. For the anarchists of that time, fearing alike the juries and the ordinary forms,

* *Translator.*] The reader ought to take notice, that the French institution of juries resembles our's *only in name*, and it is formed upon different principles, and in some particulars the very reverse of our's.

decreed an high court of justice, which dispatched the victims handed over to it, in a most military manner ; which spread abroad a general consternation and indignation every where. Such was the tribunal which was in some measure of some service to Cromwell and afterwards to Charles the Second ! Such was the tribunal so much execrated, as to make the people receive the expulsion of the long parliament with delight.

What enlightened Member of the Convention has not clearly seen the fatal consequences of this institution ? What member has not seen that it was the work of vengeance and of ambition, especially at the time when Robespierre and Lindet perfidiously swelled the list of crimes that were to be subject to its judgement ; doubtless in order that none of the bold writers who had combated their party should escape their fury ! What member did not revolt at the thirst of slaughter which ran through their cruelties planned in cold blood ! Fury in the convulsions of the face, criminality in the eyes, arrogance in the tone of voice ;—is not this the picture of Robespierre ? The indignation was universal ; but the conspirators were absolutely masters, and silence became a matter of necessity.

Did not their despotism display itself with still more audacity in the nomination of commissioners, whom they sent into many departments among themselves with an impudence beyond all belief ? Did they not violate all the usual forms in the nominations ? Did they not publicly exclude all appellants as so many traitors ? and if they artfully slipped into their scandalous list the names of respectable men, who had no participation

in their opinion, nor in their crimes, was it not done for the sake of imposing on the respectable part of the departments, and to give some authority and weight to their arbitrary and tyrannic decisions? Decisions in which those respectable men could have no influence, since they were always in the minority in every commission.

Ah ! what was the object of these commissions ? The necessity of imposing upon the departments in regard to the views of the conspiracy ; of irritating them against the deputies, the friends of order, to justify the assassination of those deputies. It was the same object, which had dictated the decree, by which the deputies were prohibited from writing journals. They hoped to exterminate or render those inactive who remained under their power ; they hoped to frighten all the journal writers out of the Convention.—A narrow computation of little conspirators ! They knew not that a revolution, at all times and in all places, brings out men of courage, who fear not to brave death, in order to reveal the truth to the people.

Since every thing concurs to prove to an impartial man, that the conspiracy of the 10th of March had been contrived by the anarchists ; that it had no other object, than to secure the government in their own hands by the massacre of the Republican deputies ; that the Revolutionary Tribunal was only instituted with a view to strengthen their power by terror ; that the sending, that the choice of the commissioners had no other object, than to get the departments to approve of their domination : how can we explain the silence of the Convention upon a crime, whose object was so atrocious, the

proof

proof of which was in the hands of the Convention, and the authors of which publicly avowed themselves? How can we avoid concluding, that this silence was commanded by the men who ruled the assembly, and who were themselves dipped in the conspiracy; by those who, after having proposed it to the Jacobins, came then coldly to watch over the execution of it, in the bosom of the Convention; by those who complained bitterly that their victims did not give themselves up complaisantly at the place of sacrifice; by those, who after having shared the departments among themselves, wanted also to share the administration? That administration which they would have usurped, had it not been for the courageous discourse of Lareveilliere Lepaux; had it not been for the steady resistance of Bancal! That administration which the chiefs of the conspirators then affected to despise, because even their own people had seen through their secret; that administration, which they have since found the means to appropriate to themselves under another form!—*for ambitious men twist and turn, but never abandon their object.* In a word, what conclusion can be drawn from all these facts, but that the Convention is under the yoke of these very conspirators?

Has not the last triumph of Marat brought this truth to full proof? What! that man whose soul is all kneaded up of blood and dirt; that man, the disgrace of the revolution, and of humanity, who polluting the Convention by his presence, and degrading it every day by his excesses, has done more hurt to the establishment of the republic than all the foreign armies; that man, whose unpunished crimes, with the massacres of the 2d of September,

September, have put back *the universal revolution of mankind for whole ages*; that man, who was convicted of having preached up royalty, the dictatorship, the abasement of the Convention, the massacre of the deputies, and the counter-revolution; that man has remained six months unpunished, in spite of the remonstrances of all the departments, and for six months has been daily insulting the Convention.

At last this man, after a sitting of twenty-two hours, is decreed to be in a state of accusation, in spite of the horrible imprecations of the banditti dispersed through the galleries, in spite of ninety-two deputies, who did not blush to undertake his defence, and to exhaust all their stratagems to save him; he resists the law; from his hiding-place he braves the assembly, and they leave him unpunished! *He fixes the day for his trial, presents himself there with audacity, surrounded by his own people, plays the part of an accuser rather than that of a person accused—rather that of a judge than that of an accuser; that of the supreme head of the Convention, and of the nation, than of a judge! Even there he tramples the decrees under his feet, drags the Convention through the mire, and boasts of his crimes.*

And the tribunal, after a most blameable farce, where they amuse themselves with my trial, instead of Marat's, after a ridiculous interrogatory, after a panegyric upon Marat, *pronounced by the public accuser*; in a word, after having sported with all forms, and even with the decree itself, this tribunal, in a judgement announced beforehand, acquit Marat; though before and after, they condemn cooks and coachmen to death, for holding aristocratical

aristocratical and monarchical language: certainly very much to be condemned, which, without doubt, deserved punishment, but which the law never intended to punish with death.

And this man is carried in triumph into the midst of the Convention itself, which he came still farther to outrage! He appears there as a conqueror! and Danton called this day of mourning for virtue and liberty, a beautiful day! Offelin demanded the insertion of that scandalous judgment in the bulletin of the day! and the assembly (if we must always decorate with that name an hundred members, who, for the most part, were composed of the protectors of Marat, or of those protected by him, and that assembly) stood dumb, dismayed, shutting their eyes upon the prevarication, the violation of the law, and the outrages done to the national representation.

I now put it to every man of candour, where is the supreme authority at this moment lodged? Is it in the Convention, or in the Revolutionary Tribunal? Is it in that tribunal, or in Marat? Is it in Marat, or in the factious band which protects him?

Oh shame! oh grief! Marat above the Convention! What enemy of France has not been intoxicated with this scandalous triumph? What republican has not been wounded to the soul, and has not despaired of liberty? What man has not said to himself, no, the Convention is not free; were it free, it would not have suffered itself to have been dishonoured by such enormous crimes; were it free, it would have suspended the court, and brought the members of it to trial for having outraged justice, and the representation of the sovereignty?

Is it not farther the sad conclusion that must be drawn, when we bring to mind all the usurpations of power, and all the violations of law, of which the municipality and the sections of Paris have been constantly rendering themselves guilty since the 10th of August, and which have always remained unpunished? For which of the laws is it that they carried into execution?

When the late municipality is seen in the face of the legislative assembly to arrogate the supreme power to itself, to cashier the department, to give a name to the new one, then to take away all power of action from it; to refuse all correspondence with the minister of the interior, to open a correspondence with all the municipalities, to send about commissioners every where, in order to gather the whole nation round about its car; to disobey the decree which ordained the giving in the public accounts, to disobey the decree which ordered the election of a new municipality, and even to force the assembly to re-commit their decree:

When one sees the sections, participating in this delirium, give their committees a right to arrest the citizens, multiply these arrests to a frightful degree, make laws upon the mode of nomination, and persevere in spite of the decrees in the mode of election, by a poll instead of a ballot:

When one sees the new municipality follow the errors of the old one, in contempt of the sovereignty of the people, arrogate to itself the right of expelling the members who displeased them; force by a thousand vexations the mayor, whose principles were a restraint upon them, to give in his resignation, and defer the organization of the public force, in spite of ten decrees, because that
force

force might in the end protect the execution of the law :

When one sees that municipality command the national representation, to sacrifice enormous and perpetual sums of money, sometimes to re-imburse letters of credit, sometimes for the supplies of corn and bread, and sometimes for the expence of the police :

When one sees a single committee, in spite of the commune, the sections, the Convention, *refuse to account for enormous sums dilapidated, and the members of the committee not only remaining unpunished, but even sitting in the bosom of the Convention, but daring even to accuse the most virtuous men :*

When one sees this municipality, in spite of decrees, shut the barriers and the play-houses at their pleasure, forbid such or such pieces, such or such journals, order to their bar the deputies, generals, and ministers, enjoin them to dismiss certain subaltern functionaries, and send inquisitorial commissioners to their houses to watch over the execution of their decrees :

When one sees this municipality make laws upon the recruiting service, upon the certificates of civism, changing at every moment the form of them, establish them, annul them again, then allow them only to such as had signed the petition against the twenty-two proscribed deputies, or only to such as had the approbation of the popular societies, *and thus by their own authority constitute these societies in a corporate capacity :*

When one sees this municipality at length insolently demand of the Convention, whether it is in a state to preserve the public weal, openly avow

the design of re-placing the Convention, declare itself in a state of insurrection against the Convention, encourage the most atrocious calumnies against its members, in its own bosom form a central committee for all the municipalities, and call to its assistance troops from different departments :

In seeing this chain of criminal acts, and the impunity of them, so much audacity on one side, and so much weakness on the other, it is impossible that the citizens of the departments, and that all foreigners, should not conclude *either that the national representation lies in the commune of Paris, or that that commune is superior to it*, since the Convention is neither at liberty to make a decree against the committee, nor has power to enforce the execution of its own decrees.

What do I say? No! it is not in the commonalty of Paris that the exercise of the national sovereignty resides. *It resides in a club, or rather in a score of those robbers who direct that club*; who oblige all the authorities that are constituted by the nations, to bend under them.

It is there, it is in that club where the anarchists of the Convention domineer. It is there that the decrees are fabricated which are to come upon them with the force of a command. It is there, that under the title of petitions or addressees, orders are fabricated which are intimated to them. It is in that warehouse of calumny, that they every day disorganize every thing, the ministry, the administrations, and the army. It is from thence that the deputies, the ministers, and the generals, are called upon to make their appearance before them, and humbly bend the knee. It is there that they give in their accounts, that they make their
answers

answers to the denunciations against them. It is there they pay obedience to the decrees of the club, who expel or condemn their subalterns. It is there that, occupied in accusing the Girondins of governing every thing, and of usurping every thing, the leaders of the club, drawing to themselves all authority, govern all, carry off all money, bargains, places, commissions, nominations to tribunals, &c. &c.

It is from thence, that the orders go to the revolutionary tribunal, to adjourn, to condemn, or acquit. It is there that the *accuser of this tribunal* complains that blood is not shed in sufficient abundance. It is there that the jurymen of this tribunal promise very soon to bring to the scaffold the heads of those deputies who are enemies to the Jacobins. It is there that they make it a sport to trample the decrees under foot; to outrage the Convention, whose appellant deputies they make it a point of conscience to encourage themselves in poignarding. It is there, that to engage the mob to massacres, they corrupt the morality of the people; they preach up the necessity of levelling all fortunes and all persons, and to carry every where the scythe of equality. It is from thence that originate the numberless writings which tend to sow the same principles, the same hatred, the same seditions in the departments. It is from thence that the emissaries, who go about preaching the war of the Sans Culottes against the people of property, &c. &c. are commissioned and *paid*.

Every day, every night, are witnesses of these atrocious enterprises. Every night the spirit of the people is irritated, and exasperated against the Convention. Every night men go to bed with

rage in their hearts, swearing to exterminate the enemies of the Jacobins. Upon their return to their homes, in their family, in their warehouse, in their sections, the simple and credulous artisan communicates to every thing around him the contagion with which he is himself infected. It is thus that the public spirit is successively poisoned, and that the seditious heat themselves upon daily calumnies.

Yet I ask any man who has studied the basis of republics, can it exist at the side of so active a focus of conspirators, who communicate with those of the municipality of sections, and other clubs of the empire? Can there exist a Convention free and independent, a government and justice?

Gaudet has said, "if two hundred counter-revolutionists were to preach the same maxims in a club, at the side of the Convention, they would all soon perish upon the scaffold." What have names to do here? The crime is the same, and that of the Jacobins of Paris remains unpunished.

For in a word, who among them preaching up murder or pillage, or carrying them into execution, has been denounced, and handed over to the Tribunal? Who among them, openly conspiring against the Convention, has been brought to the scaffold? What do I say? Which among them has any one dared to arrest? No! Inviolability is no longer a privilege of the national representation. It is the qualification of that band of robbers who violate this principle every day. Their image resembles the head of Medusa; it petrifies every thing. One trembles at the idea of pursuing a robber, who decorates himself with the name of Jacobin. It is almost

almost an act of courage to be present at the denunciations against them, but they soon fall into the dust of the committees.

Yes, I declare, from the deep conviction of my soul, that as long as there exists no power able to repress the crimes of the leaders of the Jacobins, there can exist no Convention, no Government. All the powers are necessarily with the Club. There is the legislative body; or rather there is the body above the law—above all the constituted authorities. *There is the absolute power of France.*

I have shewn that the club of the anarchists was the sovereign of the Convention. Since the 10th of August it is so of the ministers.—Follow me upon this new scene.

I speak not to you of Danton. Danton was the creature of those factious men; He could not but sacrifice every thing to them.

But I will speak to you of Roland—not that Roland was subdued by the anarchists; he made head against them, even at the moment when with sovereign power they disposed of poignards; but his dismissal, but the silence of the Convention, who ought to have paid a solemn homage to his courage, to his immense labours, and to his irreproachable probity; but the abandonment of all nature, which ought to have been so sensible towards that virtuous man; but the persecutions, and humiliations, with which they still drench him; but those insulting seals put with such brutality on his goods, by a stupid deputy; but that perfidious citation before that bloody tribunal, *before which, many of the jurymen boasted soon to bring down his head*; but that impunity of the false

false witnesses who denounced him, and calumniators who accused him; but the impossibility that he lies under (after four months, and after ten letters,) of obtaining any report upon his accounts, in which to the last penny every thing is rigorously justified; but the impossibility of obtaining even the right so natural of going to breathe the country air; but in a word, that secret shivering which made almost every individual dread the suspicion of being his friend, or even simply his relation.* Do not all these facts bear witness to the excessive power of his enemies, and the despotic empire that they exercised over the Convention!—Over the Convention, forced to sacrifice virtue itself, and every day to hear the repetition of invectives against that venerable old man!
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His enemies never cease to tell us, that the departments are Rolandized; that they are infected with the moderantism which he preached; that the opinion of the public must be changed—must be directed.

* *Translator.*] This man made his escape. His wife was murdered by the revolutionary tribunal. Soon after he laid violent hands upon himself. Thus perished one of the principal actors in the revolutionary rebellion.

† *Translator.*] The sentence following in the original is so obscure, that I have not attempted to translate it. The author himself, by breaking it short, chose, perhaps, rather to hint his meaning than to bring it out fully. He certainly did not mean to say, that the Convention really did believe the charges against his friend Roland.—The passage runs thus: “*La Convention qu'on pourroit accuser de croire intérieurement à un de ces griefs qu'on a tant rebattu contre Roland, grief qui n'est pas dissipé, qu'il faut détruire enfin.*” There is little lost by its omission.

Direct

Direct the opinion of the public! Senseless people! You know not then what the public opinion is, how it is formed! You know not then that it is the result of the public conscience, that no power, an enemy to morality and to justice, can for any length of time give it its direction. That it governs itself but by the eternal notions of just and unjust; but by the comparison of facts, of opinions, of discussions, of facts that the cabinet is silent upon; that it governs itself upon the sentiment of enlightened men. You know then, that if public opinion can be for a moment abused, and go astray, its error endures not long; because the error is soon resisted; because public opinion in a free government knows no passion, that is able for any length of time to keep up an error.

Public opinion admired the Jacobins of Paris in 1792, because she saw in them only the enemies of despotism, of aristocracy, and of feuillantism. The opinion of the public abandoned them, from about the end of 1792 and in 1793; because she saw in them nothing but the blind instruments of faction, which aimed to govern France, to level property, and of course to overturn the republican form of government. It is thus we explain the inexplicable dearth of the Jacobin journals from that date, and the abandonment of their cause by all patriot journalists, who had so vigorously defended them till then.*

A minister direct public opinion! But have they squandered more money than Montmorin and Delessart, to royalize and feuillantize France?

* *Translator.*] They have, however, triumphed.

What millions have been lavished, and upon writers who were not without address !

Well ! has the public opinion been perverted ? No ! Feuillantism has had its faction ; but the public opinion has continued sound : and the universal congratulations upon the victory of the 10th of August have proved it. And Roland would have done more in three months than other ministers would have done in three years. Roland would with thirty thousand livres have done what Montmorin and Delessart would not have done with millions. If these principles had obtained so many partisans, if they had obtained the suffrage of almost all France, they would have been indebted for it to Truth alone, and not to money, and not to supposed hired journals. For he preached up hatred to those who had committed the massacres, and all France execrated those who had been guilty of them. He preached up respect to the law, and all France knows that without that respect no Republic can exist. Roland preached truth with energy and constancy. That was his secret, that was his system of corruption, which he employed with the journalists, not one of whom was hired by him. For the Patriot Journalists had too much pride to receive money, and Roland had too much virtue to pay any.

Roland is no more !* The journals have not changed their principles. Who then continues their pay ? All the treasures are at the disposal of the men they attack.

Certainly one might find among the anarchists, some, who, whether they touch foreign funds, whether they enriched themselves by pillage, or

* *Translator.*] Roland, he meant to say, had absconded ; for he had not then, nor till long after, killed himself.

by other culpable means, have squandered money to make proselytes to anarchy, and to pervert the public opinion *. Have they succeeded? No! In spite of all the efforts of that hundred com-

* On a view of the immense sums expended by the anarchists, it is often asked, where is the source of their wealth? Our astonishment ought to cease, in my opinion, when we recollect the dilapidations of the comité de surveillance, the lucrative bargains which were made by Pache, the mayor of Paris, in favour of his friends; the deficit of his accounts; the millions given to the municipality of Paris, no application of which appears; and the secret funds granted to the executive council.

What! will any one venture to affirm, that the inconceivable robbery of the crown jewels has not its share in feeding this perennial spring of corruption? I observe, that *Thuriot* had drawn into his hands the management of that business; that he pursued it with a singular earnestness; that he afterwards consigned it to oblivion; that *Fabre d'Eglantine* revived it three months after, and without any apparent motive; that he revived it at a time when the facts were forgotten; when *Roland* appeared to be abandoned; when those whom he protected were ruined by supporting him; when the faction pressed *Restout* to make a deposition against him, at a time when they pressed *Beauvoir, Kolly and his wife*, who were their prisoners, to make a deposition against *this same Roland*; when they employed caresses, promises, menaces, to obtain this deposition, which, joined to that of the false witness *Gauthier*, might have put *Roland's* head in danger! I observe, that this insinuation of *Fabre* was made the day before the setting fire to the *Hall of Justice*. A fire which their emissaries raised a cry upon against the *Rolandins*, as having been the cause of it, in order to make away with the testimonies that were on record in the inquiry into the robbery!

It is the constant manœuvre of the anarchists to accuse their adversaries of having laid schemes for sedition, massacre, and robbery:—Return them their loan, and you never will be guilty of calumny against them.

Translator.] With all the author's earnestness to clear his friend *Roland* of this foul robbery and breach of trust, his friend is by no means acquitted in public opinion.—Nor does his own character escape from censure: as far as can be judged from pamphlets, (which are however certainly not to be admitted as proofs,) the public voice seems to suppose, that *Brissot* shared the guilt of *Roland* in this foul transaction.

missioners from the Mountain dispersed through the departments, in spite of the circulated notes public and private, in spite of the journals and placards, the public opinion remained attached to order, because public opinion is incorruptible; because she considers not the Mountain, and that she neither does nor can see any thing but the truth under a free government.

I return to the ministers, who, since I must be plain, *have been, and are rather the ministers of the Jacobins of Paris than those of the nation*, and I put Garat at the head of these enslaved ministers. Garat, whose pacific character, and whose opinions, laid down in his journal (during the constituent assembly) made the friends of order hope, that under his administration, the law would at last be respected. What has he done? Scarce was he installed, when he openly shewed his complaisance for the anarchists in a perplexed memoir upon the massacres of the 2d of September; a memoir in which he falsely paints those massacres as the consequence of the revolution of the 10th of August;* in which he absolves, he even honours the criminal authors.

A decree expels the Bourbons; and Garat, when the law itself forbid him to give an opinion, pays his court to the factious partisans of Orleans, by a turn of phrase which discovered his opposition to that decree.

* *Translator.*] No impartial man can with Mons. Brissot deny, that all the subsequent massacres were the consequence of the first massacre of the 10th of August, which was planned and executed by Brissot and his friends; nor will any man, but the authors of such acts, affect to make distinctions between the same crime perpetrated at different times.

The

The law ordered him to prosecute the incendiary writers, and he was silent.

The law orders him to prosecute those who had perpetrated the massacres of the 2d of September, and a culpable faintheartedness characterises that prosecution. Yet he was not ignorant, he, a member of the council, was not ignorant, that if there was any thing that could reconcile foreign nations to us, it was the rigorous prosecution of those massacres. I know he will cite to me certain letters written to the public accuser, and some depositions that were collected. But it is by no means, by such apish tricks, that a debt sacred to humanity and the revolution is to be acquitted.

I know, too, that he will quote to me his fear of exposing virtuous men, even Petion, in that process. False and perfidious managements! Petion could not be exposed but by that wickedness, which would make the inactivity it had condemned him to, a crime in him. Petion would have got out of that absurd accusation in triumph. Petion and his friends proudly rejected all managements on that head. Let us speak out—Garat's real object was to wrest from that prosecution, other men who stood charged in the proceedings, Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. Accordingly we must attribute the suspension of that procedure to their influence.

What did Garat do besides to find out the authors of the pillage on the 26th of February, and to bring them to punishment? Where are the prosecutions which he has ordered? Has he even ever given in his account of them, although many decrees have ordered him to do so?

The conspiracy of the 10th of March breaks out. What did he do to prevent it? He, who if he could not precisely fix the place for the sitting of the committee of insurrection, knew at least by a multitude of reports and proofs, that a formidable conspiracy was on foot against the lives of many deputies, against the liberty and safety of the whole Convention! and when that conspiracy had been discovered, what miserable sophisms did he not employ to persuade the Convention, and all France, that it was nothing but a chimera; that the committee of insurrection was a fable; when at the same time the journals of the Jacobins announced to all the world, that the plot was actually on foot in the very heart of their society: at the very time that even the guilty avowed themselves. No! never was a conspiracy more evidently proved; never had any conspiracy a more frightful object in view; and yet the minister of justice treated it with an indifference which became the real guilt of an accomplice.*

Garat endeavoured to palliate his inertness by his pacific intentions, by his design of bringing the parties together, and by that means preserving the public weal.

I am willing to believe, that he was guided only by that motive. I am willing even to pardon Garat the outrage he did to good men, whose irreproachable character he is obliged to esteem, in putting them upon the footing of weak men whom he despises, and of profligates whom he detests. But when he saw the impossibility of being able to establish a durable peace between virtue and

* *Translator.*] This is the conspiracy which afterwards produced the revolution of the 31st of last May.

crime ; when he saw that the anarchists perpetually sported with their promises, and their schemes of reconciliation, which were never followed by any thing but abortive conspiracies ; when he saw that the true republicans labour only for two points, provisional order, and constitution ; when he saw that the anarchists would admit neither order nor constitution, and though the safety of the republic depended on both : Could he have balanced between the two parties ? Ought he not then to have exerted his administration in all its rigour ? And if he had not the courage to do this ; if the swords which they sometimes threatened him with, terrified his fluctuating imagination, ought he not to have renounced his place, and have abandoned it to some citizen who might have had firmness enough to make head against the factious ?

Instead of following that line which the public good prescribed to him, Garat quitted the administration of justice ; but it was to exchange it for another place, the load of which was heavier. And what has he done in this new ministry, which they had already found too vast for Roland, and which nevertheless Garat alone had the direction of for six weeks, with the administration of justice ; which, from its extent, they found too well adapted to favour the despotism of a single man, and which nevertheless they no longer chose to divide, when Roland was not the possessor of it ? This thoroughly proves, that party principles lean more to persons than things. What, I say, did Garat do ? Always devoted to the will of the anarchists, he shut his eyes upon the crimes of the administrative body, which they influenced. For has he annulled any of the seditious deliberations

deliberations of the commune of Paris, and of its turbulent sections? No, he bent the knee before them, to obtain a certificate of civism. Did he denounce that department which rung the alarm bell upon the question of subsistence? Did he denounce that formation of the army which the anarchists had commanded in the department of Bouches du Rhone, and which at present may serve to suppress their projects? Did he prosecute the dilapidators of the month of September, who never intended to give in their accounts; all the proofs of which were sent him by the commune of Paris on the 18th of February? Did he annul, or denounce that judgment of the department of the Indre and the Loire, which violated the liberty of the press, in permitting them to stop the circulation of this or that journal? &c. Garat carried into the interior administration the same weakness, the same inertness, the same art of the sophist to justify excess, and to dispense with the punishment of criminals. To what then must this conduct be attributed? To a want of spirit; that is to say, to a want of that vigorous determination of a man resolved to die rather than to deviate from his principles; to that fear, which always offers incense to reigning power. He who dares not brave tyrants, he who has caressed the feuillants, must flatter the anarchists.

What does it cost to a man of sensibility to judge so harshly of one of his fellow citizens, with whom that sweet fraternity which exists amongst men of letters, that kind of new sense, that new language, which is well understood by philosophers only, ought to unite him?

How hard it is to be under the necessity of tearing a minister to pieces, who, as a private man, as
a writer,

a writer, merits esteem ! To speak ill, may be an enjoyment to a calumniator by profession ; it is a punishment to good men who would wish to be employed in praises only, who would wish to see all men happy and virtuous. But this severity becomes a duty. To be silent would be treason. It is thus, I know (I have but too much experience of it) that a man brings burning coals on his own head. But what is true republicanism, if it is not a perpetual sacrifice of our own interest, and our own taste, to the public weal ?

And such is still the painful sentiment, which afflicts me in running over the administration of Pache and Monge.

The purity of the principles which they professed raised them to be ministers ; and fear soon made them the slaves of the anarchists. Frightened at the power of the Jacobins, at their eagerness to denounce all ministers, and the facility with which the public and the Convention received them, they soon arranged themselves on the side of those, who, almost always with success, wielded the poignards of calumny.

That lazy abandoning of principle wanted justification. They have said, they have repeated it, that it was *the cause of the people* ; that *the people* must be supported. Thus they dishonoured the fair name of the people, to invest with it an handful of ignorant or wicked men, who roared out in the rostrums, or among the mobs. The atrocities, the threats of assassination, the cries of cannibals, were the ordinary enjoyment of *this people*. They have justified them ; they have gone the length of regretting with the *Prussian Cloots*, that they *had not sufficiently septemberised* : they have had
the

the baseness, as I may say, to deify Marat ; and to glory in following his party.

Such is the excess of madness or hypocrisy to which the people have been carried by fear. *They are become cannibals through fear.* It is in this sketch you are to recognize Pache. No, I can never console myself for having for some time given some share of my esteem to that man ; for having so long kept back those attacks which would have destroyed him in public opinion and in the Convention, from some of my friends who had better penetrated his real sentiments than I had. I shall never console myself for the share I had in the elevation of that man, who is the greatest cheat of all the anarchists, if he is not the greatest fool or the greatest coward amongst them ; of this man, whose reputation was made by Roland ; of this man, who, as the reward of that service, would have given up the head of his benefactor to his bloody enemies ; of this man, who, through complaisance to the factious, disorganised all our armies ; and who for them, disparaged, and outraged the Convention, in protecting the seditious decrees of the sections against it.

Ever attentive to the orders of the demagogues, who governed the multitude, Pache received their orders with submission. His offices were filled by those only whom they protected ; the places in the army, and the interior, were only possessed by those who call themselves Sans Culottes. The murderers of September had every where the preference ; all the bargains were for their advantage : thence proceeded that enormous dilapidation of all the departments of the war. Pache distributed the funds to the creatures of those who commanded the
rostrum ;

rostrum; and they had the secret of constantly absolving Pache to the Convention. Four or five hundred millions were laid out under that voracious minister. Where are the accounts, which the Convention had ordered to be given in every fifteen days? Those accounts which the minister was bound to give in upon quitting his administration? *Bournonville, on entering upon his administration, and after having examined the state of the expences, has declared that there was a sum of 160 millions, [about six millions sterling] of the expenditure, of which there appeared no particulars. Cambon said to the committee in the rostrum, that it was impossible to bring the expenditure of that department to light; that a sponge must be drawn over it. (I copy his very words;)* and Cambon, who has shewn so much rancour to get a decree against those miserable little pilferings, and to prosecute those obscure contractors, Cambon has shut his eyes upon the frightful expenditures of Pache. He has kept, in regard to him, a profound silence, while, in concert with the party under whose banners he continues to serve, he never ceased to declaim against Roland, who has given in his account clear to the last farthing; and while the irreproachable Roland is treated almost as a criminal, Pache has not accounted for an hundred millions which he has touched; Pache holds the first place at Paris, and they give new millions to his disposal? What is then this confusion of all ideas? What is this secret magic which covers the guilty by punishing the innocent?—It is the protection of the anarchists.

Yes, if Roland had committed the thousandth part of all that, with which Pache is to be reproached, Roland would be no more: and Pache

sleeps in tranquillity. He sleeps, after having palsied and disorganised our forces, and occasioned our external disasters! Do I say, he sleeps? He wakes; but it is that he may preside over a municipality, where they give in their accounts by threatening to shed blood.

Run over the accounts that have been presented to you by the commissaries of different armies; you will every where see through the whole administration of Pache, that is to say, the ministry of the anarchists, that he has been the principal cause of all our calamities. You will see every where, at the Pyrenees, at the Alps, on the Rhine, upon the Moselle, in Belgium, a perfect concert of complaints upon the dearth of cloaths, of arms, of ammunition, of provisions; although the Convention had decreed immense sums for all these articles; although the ridiculous Hassenfrats, who, with his five millions of plebeian generals, is fit company for the madman who talked of 1200 departments, displayed to all comers superb statements in which our armies were swimming in abundance.

You will see the provisions every where paid for two or three times over, warehouses hired at an excessive price, battalions, though reduced to a third or a sixth, still paid for at their full compliment. And why? Because the undertakers for the markets and the warehouses, the commissaries for the war, and the clerks in all the offices, were all the creatures of the anarchists; all profited from the disorder; all enriched themselves under the cover of their masquerade of rough stern virtue, and their continually Theeing and Thouingeach other.

Such, too, is the talisman which governs the offices of the marine. It is there, more than even any
where

where else, that they have condemned themselves to a complete inactivity ; and the history and the causes of that inactivity deserved to be examined to the bottom.

From the month of October, the possibility of a war with the maritime powers was foreseen. The diplomatic committee, and that of the general defence, had forewarned Monge ; they had put considerable sums into his disposal ; he had promised to keep himself well provided on all the coasts ; to have the ships and frigates all repaired ; he had promised a fleet of thirty ships of the line for the month of April ; he had promised above 50 ships of the line to be ready to put to sea for the month of July ; he had promised to cover the sea with frigates, and to protect our commerce ; he had promised to send succour to St. Domingo, and to Martinique : an express law of the month of October had ordered him to do all this. Behold what he has done ! In the month of March all our privateers are destroyed by the English in the channel ; and the minister at that period confessed to the committee that he had not a single advice-boat to protect them. And yet this very minister, who had not a single advice-boat at his disposal in the month of March, had in an imprudent and culpable circular letter, published in the beginning of the month of January, of which Pitt well knew how to take his advantage to stir up the people of England against us, this minister had, I say, threatened England to throw fifty thousand liberty caps into her very bosom. In the month of April our trading vessels were taken by English frigates at the very mouths of our rivers ; our ships could not go into the Mediterranean without danger ; and yet we had a fleet there of 15 ships of the line.

What is become then of that fleet which threatened Sardinia and all the Levant? How came it that Monge has not even yet accused the authors of that inaction to which that fleet was condemned for some months? How comes it that he has not brought this conspiracy to light, by which the arms of France were dishonoured at Cagliari?

How will he justify himself for not having sent any competent succour to the East Indies? For not having forewarned our colonies at the period of December, when the war with England was apparent? How will he justify himself for having deferred his sending a fleet to Martinico, when a decree had ordered him to do so? How will he justify himself for having in the month of March ordered the frigates dispatched for Martinique to cruize in the channel at the season of the equinox, which occasioned on one hand the failure of that expedition; which, on the other hand, exposed that fleet to perish, and actually did force it to return to port? And during all these delays, England, *who did not begin to arm till three months after us*, sent Admiral Gardiner with seven ships of the line and a number of frigates to the West Indies, and that fleet made itself master of the richest ships of our colonies. Is there then nothing here worse than folly or than negligence? Has not the perfidy of some disguised counter-revolutionists in the direction of the marine offices, visibly rendered our maritime forces incapable of activity, and deceived the spirit of those Republicans who flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing revived those times of the English republic, where the celebrated Blake rendered their flag respected, made kings tremble on their thrones, beat the Dutch fleets,

ruined

ruined their commerce, and kept the colonies in their Duty?

This is what an active, enlightened, enterprising minister of the marine would have done; one who would have troubled himself with no other answers to the Jacobins, than grand enterprises and brilliant victories.

But to what then must this incredible inertness in the department of the marine be attributed? Is it owing to the incapacity of Monge alone, an incapacity that he has himself twenty times confessed, and which became a crime when he obstinately persevered to continue minister at a crisis so perilous?

It is to be attributed to these leaders of the Jacobins, who directed Monge by means of their creatures placed under him in his office; it is to be attributed to those leaders who, for a long time had declared that they would have nothing to do with an offensive war, which they opposed every where in order to force us to renounce it; to those leaders who, knowingly or ignorantly were the instruments of foreign powers, who were interested to make our forces incapable of activity, and whose agents, whether by bribing, or by flattering their vanity, led those leaders to that system; to those leaders who, speculating for themselves, or for their creatures upon the jobs in the marine, filled them with negligence or with roguery; to those leaders who dictated their own choice, commanded them to drive away all well informed men, who infested the offices, the ports, the arsenals, with the men whom they protected, whose ignorance shackled the progress of the navy, or whose wickedness obstructed it intentionally.

We must farther attribute this inertness of the marine to those white people of the colonies, aristocrats or independents, who, coalescing with the chiefs of the Jacobins, had usurped a great influence in the marine offices, and at their own pleasure retarded the operations with regard to the colonies, or made them stand totally still, in order to favour their independence, or their invasion by foreigners.

We must finally attribute it to Perigni, who in every thing directed Monge; whom Monge was stubbornly resolved to preserve as his intimate, although the committee of general defence had denounced that man to him as an aristocrat in disguise, under the form of Sans Culoterie, as an ex-noble, the son of a colonist, interested in the independency of the colonies.

These are the causes of the inertness of the minister of the marine; an inertness which has ruined our privateers, ruined our commerce, ruined and humiliated France in all the seas; an inertness which must in the end deprive us of all provisions, and of all the primary articles which foreigners furnish.

You who, to keep your places, or through dread of denunciations against you, carest the factious, whose nullity you despise in your hearts, whose crimes you are acquainted with; *you, whose names I do not set down, but who are nevertheless the slaves of those profligates; I hold your secret in my hands; you shall not escape from inflexible posterity, even though you should not yourselves stand the witnesses of your own ignominy*.*

* *Translator.*] This paragraph may be among the causes which shortened the trial of the author before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Republicans ! It is not the habit, but the soul which makes the republican ; It is the inflexible man, who pursues crime even in the moment of its triumph, in the very midst of its poignards ; who tramples its favours under his feet. Cato pierced his bosom rather than receive a favour from an usurper, who would have felt himself honoured by being his friend. Cato was as much superior to the Lilliputian creatures of these times, as genius can be to stupidity.—This is the republican !

I am satisfied that I have fully proved that the anarchists under the name of the Jacobins of Paris, of the municipality and of the sections, have governed, and do govern the Convention, the executive power, and all the administrations, and consequently that they govern the whole empire.

It remains for me to prove, that the system of the anarchists is the principal cause of all the evils that we suffer, whether internal or external. What in truth, are the calamities which afflict us internally ?

The multiplicity of crimes. That multiplicity is produced by impunity ; the impunity by the inactivity of the tribunals ; the anarchists protect this impunity ; they strike all the tribunals with a palsy, either by the fear they excite, or by denunciations and accusations of aristocracy.

The repeated acts of violence from every quarter against property and personal safety.

The anarchists of Paris give every day the example ; and their immediate emissaries, and their emissaries decorated with the title of commissaries of the Convention, every where preach up this violation of the rights of man. What do I say ? They practise that violation every where. For what town has not been witness to these outrages ? What town

has not been witness of these violations? What town has not been in mourning on account of them? What town has not seen its best citizens thrown into irons? In what town have not these anarchists formed committees of superintendence, and revolutionary committees, who, under pretext of striking at aristocrats, strike at good patriots, because they are zealous for order, and for the respect due to property?

The dearness of bread—it is produced by the scarcity of the markets, and the want of the circulation of grain. What is it produces this solitude in the markets? What stops this circulation? The eternal declamations of the anarchists against men of property, or against merchants, whom they mark out by the name of *monopolizers*; the eternal petitions of ignorant men who call for a rate upon grain. The labouring man fears he shall be plundered, or have his throat cut, and he leaves his ricks untouched.

The deficit of the public contributions.—Many individuals pay nothing, because the law has no force; and the law has no force, because the anarchists take away all force from it; many districts of departments pay nothing; because the example of Paris, and of Bouches du-Rhone is seducing; because they fear nothing; neither the ministers, nor the council, who dare not break the administrators; nor the Convention, which is obliged to shut its eyes upon these acts of federalism; because, in short, the assignments given for this or that occasion, annihilate the return of the revenue to the center of the contributions.

The discredit of assignats.—They are discredited because they are too numerous; and they are too numerous, on one hand, because the expenditure

is excessive and uncontroled ; on the other hand, because the sale of the national goods is stopped, and that the sale of the goods of the emigrants is nothing ; The influence of the anarchy causes this double effect. It is substantially the anarchists who order, direct, and controul all the expensures ; and on the other side, acquisitions are no longer made, when men of property are incessantly destined to the sword of robbers, and when the despotism of anarchy causes an apprehension of the return of the antient despotism.

The failure of the administrations almost throughout.—The anarchists alone occasion it, by crying out, and by making others who are their trusty friends in the clubs, cry out too, against all administrators, even the popular ones. From the moment that a man is in any administration he becomes odious to the anarchists ; he seems culpable ; he is denounced. It is the way to curry favour by adulation to that multitude whose morals they have corrupted, and which delights in nothing but destruction.

The palsy of the administrations is also owing to those acts of arbitrary authority exercised in almost all the departments by the commissaries of the anarchists, over the administrators, who will not participate in their respect for pillage and massacre. These acts of despotism have remained unpunished ; and then forsooth they expect the administrators will put the laws in execution !

Consider the department which have been able to chain down the fury of these ferocious men. Consider for example the department of the Gironde. Order has prevailed. The people have always been submissive to the law ; although they paid as high as ten sols a pound for their bread, numerous battalions well disciplined have been sent to the

armies against the rebels. The public contributions have always been well paid. It is that in that department they have banished the preachers of an Agrarian law; it is that in that department the citizens have bricked up the doors of that club, where they teach the sanguinary doctrines which are every day preached by the Jacobins of Paris. In short, it is, that there, the administrators, men of integrity, of understanding, and of courage, have braved both the poignards of calumny, and the menaces of the commissaries, who are at the orders of the Jacobins.*

The troubles of l'Eure, de l'Orne, &c.—These have been occasioned by the preachings against the rich, against monopolisers, by the seditious sermons upon the necessity of setting a rate on grain, and all provisions, by force of arms.

Troubles of Orleans.—This town has from the beginning of the revolution lived in the enjoyment of a tranquility which has not been affected by the troubles excited by the scarcity of corn in other places, although this was a corn country; because the people were made to understand the subject; because the workmen in the manufactories, the most numerous class of people in that town, found a certain subsistence; because the sacrifices from men at their ease were considerable. This harmony between the poor and the rich was not among the principles of anarchy: and one of those men, employed to disseminate those principles;

* *Translator.*] The reader will observe, that for this rebellion against the Jacobins, the people of Bourdeaux have been most severely punished, and this rich commercial city put under the guardianship of the Sans Culottes.

one of those men, in whom order creates despair, whose only object is trouble, bestirred himself to break that happy concord, and laboured to excite the Sans Culottes against men of property. An accidental wrangle brought a few blows upon him; and there is that grand conspiracy which has occasioned a perfectly innocent town * to be declared in a state of rebellion. The commissaries, say they, must be surrounded with respect. Eh! that they could first surround them with virtues; and that oppressed town still groans under a more tyrannic yoke than that of Algiers or of Constantinople! That town has experienced refinements of cruelty such as Tiberius would not have permitted himself to be guilty of.

The troubles of La Vendee.—They are owing to the aristocracy; but nothing has been of more service to them, than the disorders and the system of anarchy. For what has more contributed to excite the fanaticism of the country people towards their priests, and their worship, *than the cruelties constantly ordained by the anarchists against the refractory priests?* † What has more contributed to

* The wives, the children of the unhappy prisoners resorted to the houses of the deputies; who amused themselves with their misery; they obliged these people to drink, to dance.

You will find nothing like this in the history of Tiberius.

Shall I cite the crimes of the commissaries of Lyons, Rovere, Bazire, and Legendre; their insolent pride, the impudence of their answers, their numerous *Bastilements* ordered by them in the midst of debauches?

† *Translator.*] They could not exceed the cruelty of Brissot's own faction with regard to the same objects.

render the republican form of government shocking to all men of property, and all men who live by their industry, and who want repose, than the preachings against property and peace? Who has nominated that stupid minister of war, the commissaries employed to repress those troubles, and those generals who are incapable of concerting a good plan for hemming in the rebels? Was it not the anarchists? Are not they the men who have palsied the executive council: who have placed it under the guardianship of the committee of public safety, which they have made up at their own pleasure; of that committee, which allowed itself to be imposed upon by idle tales, and which never adopted efficacious measures? In short, who commanded that *sanguinary law* by which every rebel, taken in arms, is on the instant condemned to death? a law, which strikes the peasant who has gone astray, and who was forced, indeed, by his former lord to make himself the associate of his crimes; a law, the effect of which soon turned upon our own troops, since the rebels have not failed to make reprisals; a law, the re-action of which has been still more fatal to our recruiting; as it would have been more wise, more political, to have condemned none but the chiefs to death! In making the law general, they favoured the counter-revolution; to have made it particular, by affecting the chiefs only, they would have divided those chiefs from the good people, whom they had led astray. How easy too might it have been, to have brought back or to have reduced those people, under an active and spirited ministry, under a wise and respected Convention, with order every where established.

The treason of Dumourier and the other general officers.—I was sensible of the ambition, of the immorality of Dumourier, and of his total indifference to the cause of liberty. He never was sincerely inclined to a republic; he wished for a monarchy, tempered by democratic forms, because that sort of government is more suitable to men of great talents, joined with strong passions. *It is observed, that even in the case of virtue itself joined with great talents, uniform virtue does not fix the people, but the man of the purest intentions, who has best served his country, is under the republican form exposed to swallow the hemlock draught.* What ought they to hope, then, say they to themselves, who have talents only, and are void of virtue? But I will not be afraid to say it, the calumnies which followed Dumourier, even in his triumphs, the spirit of disorganization with which the anarchists had infected his army, were the cause that precipitated his treason, and consequently precipitated our misfortunes.

If the Convention do not soon pass a law to put a stop to this corrosive system of calumny, which fastens itself on every thing which is great and virtuous; she will soon find neither generals of experience at the head of her armies, nor men of understanding in the guidance of her administrations. There is no surer way, not only of condemning honest men to solitude, but of even multiplying deserters and traitors, than these eternal denunciations of imaginary treasons, invented at pleasure. How can it be imagined, that generals who have filled their functions with fidelity, who every day expose their lives in battle, should not feel indignation at seeing themselves

marked out by the most worthless wretches as villains; in seeing all their actions, every discourse of theirs, all their plans, misrepresented by calumny, and their victories themselves denounced as treasons? At seeing these calumnies greedily gathered up by the multitude, heard without indignation by the Convention, often followed even by suspensions, with orders to appear at the bar, and followed even by decrees? Must not the blood of a general boil in his veins in reading such a decree, especially when he recollects the coldness with which justifications are heard; with what cruelty they cavil upon certain miserable pretended proofs; with what favour they receive as truths, sometimes the dreams, sometimes the treacherous report of a discontented soldier; in a word, at seeing the facility with which suspected generals are transferred to the Abbaye? To the Abbaye!—The very name of which place, in recalling to memory that dreadful day of the 2d of September, must freeze the heart of the boldest and most virtuous man. Citizens! anarchy has already made Anitus's and Cleon's shoot up among us. But where is Socrates, where is Phocion? Are they not stifled at their birth? A republic stands on bad ground, where, at its very beginning, the chances of a man's success, are all in favour of crime and against virtue.

I pass now to our exterior calamities, and I shall prove them on the same evidence, that they are all owing to the anarchists.

I do not place the war with Austria in this class; here we had no choice, it was forced upon us, we were outraged and threatened. We were under a necessity of beginning that war,
that

that we might ensure success in it. That war promised the most happy success ; the fall of the house of Austria, the liberty of the Low Countries, ought to have been the infallible consequence of it, if our leaders had had the prudence to avoid a maritime war.

But war with England, with Holland, and with Spain, has changed the face of affairs, and it has stopped the course of our victories. Then what has occasioned this last war ? There are three causes of it :

1st. The absurd and impolitic decree of the 19th of November which very justly excited uneasiness in foreign cabinets ; a decree which men of knowledge opposed in vain ; a decree brought to nothing by the anarchists themselves, who had pushed it on with rage : it was brought to nothing after a fatal experience ; but this was done too late, since the mischief had already been produced.

2d. The massacres of the 2d of September, the impunity of which, commanded by the anarchists, has alienated from us all the neutral nations.

3d. The death of Louis.

I have already said it, and I will never cease to repeat it, since they do not cease to attribute the war with England to me, though I employed all my endeavours to avoid it ; those massacres, and that condemnation to death, have most of all contributed to that war. Hear my proofs, which are not to be suspected.

I was in England at the time, says Thomas Payne, in a work upon the point of being published, just at the time of the massacres on the 2d and 3d of September.

Before

Before that unhappy event, the principles of the French revolution were making a rapid progress; scarcely was the fatal news of these massacres arrived, but a general change was apparent in the public opinion; all the friends of France were in mourning, every man feared to meet his friend: the enemies of the revolution triumphed, and made every place ring with anathemas and cries of horror against France, and these cries distracted every heart. Thus, all France, the whole revolution suffered by the proficacy of a few individuals. In vain was it said that those who perished were guilty persons; the answer was, that a prison was as sacred as an altar, and that he who could violate a prison, was capable of betraying his country.

Interrogate all the strangers, interrogate our ambassadors at foreign courts, Chauvelin, Bourgoing; they will tell you what an unhappy sensation that death made upon the minds of all men, while it was utterly useless as to adding the least strength to the republic.

Fox said to an Englishman, a friend to our principles and to our revolution: Let them be prevented from passing that sentence of death, and I will be answerable to you that there will be no war, that the opposition will prevail, that the nation will be with it; the enemies of France in the cabinet of St. James's want only that death to bring about a declaration of war.

Read, in short, the numerous writings, the Gazettes which have appeared since that time in England, in Germany, in Italy, in Switzerland. We are every where painted as cannibals; we are detested every where, and that hatred has been
worth

worth armies and treasures to the kings coalesced against us.

I have said it in the rostrum before the Convention, if you vote the death of the tyrant, without consulting the nation, you must the next day vote a war against England, against Holland, against Spain, who will not only make war upon you, but who will find their advantage in the use they will make of the fanaticism of their people, which this death will occasion.

They would not believe me; and the death of Louis was scarcely known in foreign nations but our ambassadors were affronted and ignominiously driven away. This outrage was either to be submitted to or be resented. Our answer was a declaration of war.

Who, then, has been the author of this war? The anarchists only; and yet they make it a crime in us! It is anarchy which has brought all Europe on our backs; it is anarchy which has alienated every nation from us, which has been the cause of all the reverses of fortune we have suffered; and the anarchists have the infamy to impute that reverse of our fortunes to men who have laboured to put a stop to those extravagancies, and to prevent those misfortunes.

If, however, after having for no rational purpose brought all Europe upon our back, they had manifested that spirit which is becoming of twenty-five millions of republicans, inhabiting a country the most fertile in resources; *if, instead of limiting themselves to an ignominious defence, they had conceived, and executed one of those great expeditions which brought*

all the kings of the Earth prostrate before the Romans :

What a noble career then opened itself before our eyes !

* At the Pyrenees, Spain offered to us only mountains that were easy to pass over; . . .

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At a distance, and beyond our seas, the Spanish establishments are inhabited by a numerous people, who roar while they bite the curb, who wait only for a deliverer.

Louisiana is a country to which we owe great reparation on account of the cowardice with which we there sacrificed our brethren.

In the West Indies, the English colonies which it was so easy to have turned topsy-turvy, simply in putting the finishing stroke, to the purification of the government of our own colonies ; a measure which is not even understood by this council.

In the East Indies it would, perhaps, be difficult to conquer the Dutch colonies ; it would be perfectly easy to restore them to liberty.

In Indostan, a prince overcome in battle but not subdued ; terrible, like Mithridates, even in his defeats, even in the season of his repose ; a prince

* *Translator.*] The reader is acquainted with the licence of the Jacobin style, and the injurious and indecent manner in which they treat all other nations. Some of his scurrilities are suppressed.

whose

whose implacable hatred against the English waits only a season, when some assistance may enable him to attack the English power afresh; and the thread by which the power of England has its hold in India is so slender.

In Europe, Russia and Austria might have been humbled by the Port; Poland might have been preserved by the Port; and your Mediterranean fleet, at that time splendid, could easily have persuaded the Sultan; it could alone, if they had not been stupidly obstinate in losing it on the rocks of Sardinia, have changed the face of the war in Europe.

Ireland, whose movements towards liberty we were bound to encourage.

England is a country on which we might easily enough have retaliated the terrors which she has at times excited among us, by imaginary projects of invasion.

Throughout the whole commerce of our enemies, great advantages were offered to us for its destruction, without fear of a dangerous return of similar evils upon our own commerce.

Such are the great ideas which ought to have been entertained, which ought to have been executed, *since the determination was made to brave all Europe.* Such were the projects that men, long familiar with the nature of republicanism, and the great effects of which it was capable, proposed to the committee of general defence, proposed by those men whom they accuse of having been the occasion of declaring the war, and of not having carried it on in a grand stile, when their opposers exerted themselves for the

destruction of all their means, or at least for rendering them all impotent. Richelieu, Louvois, Alberoni, had conceived similar projects; and they were men who could carry their projects into execution, only by a few thousand satellites: here the whole nation is in action, to carry her plans into execution.

But where were these measures to be found? In our courage, in our love of liberty, in the resources of our soil. Questioners, with narrow minds, read the history of the revolution of Holland, and of the long parliament in England; behold the prodigies which have characterised those interesting epochs.* Has England ever been master of such formidable fleets as those which under Blake and Penn fought with Ruyter and Tromp? It was, however, three or four millions of men who bravely decided in favour of liberty. Here are twenty-five millions in arms.

And these twenty-five millions found themselves even in the month of January last, possessed of sufficiently efficacious means, and with more money than all the foreign powers; even more than England, proud as she is of her riches. The French have a mass of resources, such as no nation in the world has ever possessed before;† a mass which

* *Translator.*] M. Brissot had but to look to the naval history of the last naval war, or to the one before it, to have found the English navy more formidable and more successful than in the time when he supposes her to have been at her highest glory.

† *Translator.*] No people but the present French tyranny could perhaps prevail on themselves to boast of *public riches*, raised by the perfect annihilation of all private property. *Liberty and property* are terms never separated in the public

which would doubtlessly have doubled itself, could order but have been established, for all was contained in our plan; but they not only combated our ideas, but they even coalesced themselves with the anarchists, who ruined all our resources by disorder, in hopes of reigning by their assistance.

I had laid open these resources in my two reports upon England. Kersaint had also proved them before me, and an event has proved the fact better than *we did*. The Spaniards entered the country; the frontier was deserted; the alarm bell was rung in the south; and above forty thousand men sprung out of the earth in an instant, uniting themselves together at Perpignan. These are the miracles of liberty.

No, never did the Executive Council—What do I say? No, never did men who decreed the committee in order to cripple it, and who crippled it in order to govern in its stead—No, never did these creatures of mediocrity rise to a conception of the strength of the French nation, nor of the effects of liberty. It was with labour that they skimmed along the ground; they were not sensible that the defensive excites no electricity; that the offensive only could exalt a people who are impetuous, like the French; they saw not, that to form men into a great nation, vast ideas, great objects, sublime and difficult designs, were indispensable.

One only fear seemed to me constantly to possess the council, which was not under the guardianship of free republicans, of whom the

public expression of English happiness. When men have once lost the idea of private property, it is impossible that the idea of liberty can be preserved to them.

committee

committee of general defence had been at first composed, but who were fallen under the iron rod of their enemies. The council stood in dread of the denunciations, and of the calumnies of the Jacobins; they dreaded decrees of accusation, if success did not accompany their projects. This is the idea that froze the imagination, and crippled the mental faculties of every one of them. Here is the sole cause of the inertness to which our administration condemned itself. Here is the cause of all our misfortunes, of all our humiliations. It is all owing to the murderous influence of the calumniating anarchists; they stifle all the plans which would have made us triumph over our enemies abroad, *and would have established our liberty every where.* That influence has reduced us to shut ourselves up within our proper limits, and we have still to fear farther humiliations and defeats.

Thus the Spaniards with whom we might have been beforehand on their own ground; (for from the month of November, the minister Pache had been charged to form a considerable army at the Pyrenees, and to provide it with every thing, which was not done even in the month of March.) These Spaniards, I say, had the presumption to stain the land of liberty, and attack us within our very walls; and in their frigates, protected through *that port passage* * where the tri-colour flag ought to fly; their frigates intercept our trade ships even in the view of our harbours.

Thus we could, we ought to make the Spaniards, the English, the Dutch, tremble for their colonies; and it is we who are to tremble for our

* *Translator.*] I do not know whether the author means St. Sebastian's, or what other port.

own. And if these very same republicans, whom calumnies cease not to accuse, had not by a decree concerning the *men of colour*, acquired twenty thousand native defenders of St. Domingo, where would that island have been, which was abandoned by the minister? Thus we could have ruined the commerce of our enemies by our numerous privateers, and these privateers of ours are destroyed in a few days, whereas the rich galleons of Spain enter quietly into their own ports.

Thus we might disturb England by exciting fermentation in her bosom, in Ireland which is jealous, in Scotland which is discontented; instead of this, it is England which with success excites and favours rebellion among ourselves.

Thus it was in our power to straiten the subsistence of our enemies by laying waste their commerce, and exciting commotions among them through the scarcity and dearth of provisions; whereas it is we who are threatened with this scarcity by the unskilfulness of those men, who, after having forced us to declare war, have incessantly shackled all the measures of the republicans, and who have, and who still will have, the infamous cruelty to accuse them to the people for that scarcity which they themselves occasioned.

In short, *we, who should no longer know any barrier except the Rhine*; we have been obliged to abandon the fields in which we were victorious, and those brothers to whom we have given liberty.

That evacuation of Belgium which has tarnished the lustre of our arms, and obliged the liberty of Europe to lose ground, is still the product of anarchy. This event which holds so great a place in our history deserves to be fathomed.

Three sorts of anarchy have ruined our affairs in Belgium.

The anarchy of the administration of Pache, which has completely disorganised the supply of our armies ; which by that disorganization reduced the army of Dumourier to stop in the middle of its conquests ; which struck it motionless through the months of November and December ; which hindered it from joining Bournonville and Custine, and from forcing the Prussians and Austrians to repass the Rhine, and afterwards from putting themselves in a condition to invade Holland sooner than they did.

To this first state of ministerial anarchy, it is necessary to join that other anarchy which disorganised the troops, and occasioned their habits of pillage ; and lastly, that anarchy which created the revolutionary power, and forced the union to France of the countries we had invaded, before things were ripe for such a measure.

Who could, however, doubt the frightful evils that were occasioned in our armies by that doctrine of anarchy which under the shadow of equality of *right*, would establish equality of fact ? This is universal equality, the scourge of society, as the other is the support of society. An anarchical doctrine which would level all things, talents, and ignorance, virtues, and vices, places, usages, and services ; a doctrine which begot that fatal project of organizing the army, presented by Du Bois de Crance, to which it will be indebted for a compleat disorganisation.

Mark the date of the presentation of the system of this equality of fact, entire equality. It had been projected and decreed even at the very opening of the Dutch campaign. If any project could

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encourage the want of discipline in the soldiers, any scheme could disgust and banish good officers, and throw all things into confusion at the moment when order alone could give victory, it is this project in truth so stubbornly defended by the anarchists, and transplanted into their ordinary tactic.

How could they expect that there should exist any discipline, any subordination, when even in the camp they permit motions, censures, and denunciations of officers, and of generals? Does not such a disorder destroy all the respect that is due to superiors, and all the mutual confidence without which success cannot be hoped for? For the spirit of distrust makes the soldier suspicious, and intimidates the general. The first discerns treason in every danger; the second, always placed between the necessity of conquest, and the image of the scaffold, dares not raise himself to bold conception, and those heights of courage which electrify an army and ensure victory. Turenne, in our time, would have carried his head to the scaffold; for he was sometimes beat: but the reason why he more frequently conquered was, that his discipline was severe: it was, that his soldiers confiding in his talents, never muttered discontent instead of fighting.—Without reciprocal confidence between the soldier and the general, there can be no army, no victory, especially in a free government.

Is it not to the same system of anarchy, of equalization, and want of subordination, which has been recommended in some clubs, and defended even in the Convention, that we owe the pillages, the murders, the enormities of all kinds which it was difficult for the officers to put a stop to, from the general spirit of insubordination; excesses which

have rendered the French name odious to the Belgians? Again, is it not to this system of anarchy, and of robbery, that we are indebted for the invention of the *revolutionary power*, which has so justly aggravated the hatred of the Belgians against France?

What did enlightened republicans think before the 10th of August, men who wished for liberty, *not only for their own country, but for all Europe?* They believed that they could generally establish it, by exciting the governed against the governors, in letting the people see the facility and the advantages of such insurrections.

But how can the people be led to that point? By the example of good government established among us; by the example of order; by the care of spreading nothing but moral ideas among them; to respect their properties and their rights; to respect their prejudices, even when we combat them; by disinterestedness in defending the people, by a zeal to extend the spirit of liberty amongst them.

This system was at first followed.* Excellent pamphlets from the pen of Condorcet prepared the people for liberty; the 10th of August, the republican decrees, the battle of Valmy, the retreat of the Prussians, the victory of Jemappe, all spoke in favour of France; all was rapidly destroyed by *the revolutionary power*. Without doubt, good intentions made the majority of the assembly adopt it; they would plant the tree of liberty in a foreign soil, under the shade of a people already free. To

* *Translator.*] The most seditious libels upon all governments, in order to excite insurrection in Spain, Holland, and other countries,

the eyes of the people of Belgium it seemed but the mask of a new foreign tyranny. This opinion was erroneous; I will suppose it so for a moment; but still this opinion of Belgium deserved to be considered. In general we have always considered our own opinions, and our own intentions, rather than the people whose cause we defend. We have given those people a will; that is to say, we have more than ever alienated them from liberty.

How could the Belgic people believe themselves free, since we exercise, for them, and over them, the rights of sovereignty; when, without consulting them, we suppress all in a mass their ancient usages, their abuses, their prejudices, those classes of society which without doubt are contrary to the spirit of liberty, but the utility of whose destruction was not as yet proved to them? How could they believe themselves free, and sovereign, when we made them take such an oath as we thought fit, as a test to give them the right of voting? How could they believe themselves free, when openly despising their religious worship, which religious worship that superstitious people valued beyond their liberty, beyond even their life; when we proscribed their priests; when we banished them from their assemblies, where they were in the practice of seeing them govern; when we seized their revenues, their domains, and riches, to the profit of the nation; when we carried to the very center those hands which they regarded as profane? Doubtless these operations were founded on principles; but those principles ought to have had the consent of the Belgians, before they were carried into practice,

otherwise they necessarily became our most cruel enemies.

Arrived ourselves at the last bounds of liberty and equality, trampling under our feet all human superstitions, (after however, a four years war with them,) we attempt all at once to raise to the same eminence, men, strangers even to the first elementary principles of liberty, and plunged for fifteen hundred years in ignorance and superstition; we wished to force men to see, when a thick cataract covered their eyes, even before we had removed that cataract; we would force men to see, whose dulness of character had raised a mist before their eyes, and before that character was altered.*

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* *Translator.*] It may not be amiss once for all to remark on the style of all the philosophical politicians of France. Without any distinction in their several sects and parties, they agree in treating all nations who will not conform their government, laws, manners, and religion, to the new French fashion, as *an herd of slaves*. They consider the content with which men live under those governments as stupidity, and all attachment to religion, as the effect of the grossest ignorance.

The people of the Netherlands, by their constitution, are as much entitled to be called free, as any nation upon earth. The Austrian government (until some wild attempts the emperor Joseph made on the French principles, but which have been since abandoned by the court of Vienna,) has been remarkably mild. No people were more at their ease than the Flemish subjects, particularly the lower classes. It is curious to hear this great oculist talk of couching the *cataract* by which the Netherlands were *blinded*, and hindered from seeing, in its proper colours, the beautiful vision of the French Republic, which he has himself painted with so masterly an hand. That people must needs be dull, blind, and brutalized by fifteen hundred years of superstition, (the time elapsed since the introduction of Christianity amongst them,) who could prefer their former state to the *present state of France!*

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Do you believe that the doctrine which now prevails in France would have found many partisans among us in 1789? No; a revolution in ideas, and in prejudices, is not made with that rapidity; it moves gradually; it does not escalate.

Philosophy does not inspire by violence, nor by seduction, nor is it the sword that begets the love of liberty.

Joseph the Second also borrowed the language of philosophy when he wished to suppress the monks in Belgium, and to seize upon their revenues. There was seen on him a mask only of philosophy, covering the hideous countenance of a greedy despot, and the people ran to arms. Nothing better than another kind of despotism has been seen in the *revolutionary power*.

We have seen in the commissioners of the National Convention, nothing but pro-consuls, working the mine of Belgium for the profit of the French nation; seeking to conquer it for the sovereign of Paris; either to aggrandize his empire, or to share the burdens of the debts, and furnish a rich prize to the robbers who domineered in France.

Do you believe the Belgians have ever been the dupes of those well-rounded periods, which they vended in the pulpit, in order to familiarise them to the idea of an union with France? Do you believe they were ever imposed upon by those

The reader will remark, that the only difference between Brissot and his adversaries, is in the *mode* of bringing other nations into the pale of the French Republic—*They* would abolish the order and classes of society and all religion at a stroke; Brissot would have just the same thing done, but with more address and management.

votes and resolutions, made by what is called acclamation, for their union, of which corruption paid one part,* and fear forced the remainder? Who, at this time of day, is unacquainted with the springs and wires of their miserable puppet shew? *Who does not know the farces of primary assemblies, composed of a president, of a secretary, and of some assistants, whose day's work was paid for?* No; it is not by means which belong only to thieves and despots that the foundations of liberty can be laid in an enslaved country. It is not by those means, that a new-born republic, a people who know not yet the elements of republican governments, can be united to us. Even slaves do not suffer themselves to be seduced by such artifices; and if they have not the strength to resist, they have at least the sense to know how to appreciate the value of such an attempt.

If we would attach the Belgians to us, we must at least enlighten their minds by *good writings*; we must send to them *missionaries*, and not despotic commissioners.† We ought to give them time to see; to perceive by themselves the advantages of liberty; the unhappy effects of superstition; the fatal spirit of priesthood. And whilst we waited for this moral revolution, we should have accepted the offers which they incessantly repeated, to join to the French army, an army of 50,000 men; to entertain them at their

* See the correspondence of Dumourier, especially the letter of the 12th of March.

† *Translator.*] They have not as yet proceeded farther with regard to the English dominions. Here we only see as yet *the good writings* of Payne, and of his learned associates, and the labours of the *missionary clubs*, and other zealous instructors.

own expence: and to advance to France, the specie of which she stood in need.

But have we ever seen those fifty thousand soldiers who were to join our army, as soon as the standard of liberty should be displayed in Belgium? Have we ever seen those treasures which they were to count into our hands? Can we either accuse the sterility of their country, or the penury of their treasure, or the coldness of their love for liberty? No! despotism and anarchy, these are the benefits which we have transplanted into their soil. We have acted, we have spoken like masters; and from that time we have found the Flemings nothing but jugglers, who made the grimace of liberty for money; or slaves, who in their hearts cursed their new tyrants. Our commissioners address them in this sort; “you have
“nobles and priests among you, drive them out
“without delay, or we will neither be your brethren nor your patrons.” They answered: give us but time; only leave to us the care of reforming these institutions. Our answer to them was, “No! it must be at the moment; it must be on
“the spot, or we will treat you as enemies; we
“will abandon you to the resentment of the
“Austrians.”

What could the disarmed Belgians object to all this, surrounded as they were by seventy thousand men? They had only to hold their tongues, and to bow down their heads before their masters! They did hold their tongues, and their silence is received as a sincere and free assent.

Have not the strangest artifices been adopted to prevent that people from retreating, and to constrain them to an union? It was foreseen, that as long

long as they were unable to effect an union, the states would preserve the supreme authority amongst themselves. Under pretence, therefore, of relieving the people, and of exercising the sovereignty in their right, at one stroke they abolished all the duties and taxes; they shut up all the treasuries. From that time no more receipts; no more public money; no more means of paying the salaries of any man in office appointed by the states. Thus was anarchy organised amongst the people, that they might be compelled to throw themselves into our arms. It became necessary for those who administered their affairs, under the penalty of being exposed to sedition, and in order to avoid their throats being cut, to have recourse to the treasury of France. What did they find in this treasury? ASSIGNATS.—These Assignats were advanced at par to Belgium. By this means, on the one hand, they naturalised this currency, in that country; and on the other, they expected to make a good pecuniary transaction. Thus it is that covetousness cut its throat with its own hands. *The Belgians have seen in this forced introduction of assignats, nothing but a double robbery; and they have only the more violently hated the union with France.*

Recollect the solicitude of the Belgians on that subject. With what earnestness did they conjure you to take off a retro-active effect from these assignats, and to prevent them from being applied to the payment of debts that were contracted anterior to the union?

Did not this language energetically enough signify that they looked upon the assignats as a leprosy, and the union as a deadly contagion?

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And yet what regard was paid to so just a demand? It was buried in the committee of finance. That committee wanted to make anarchy the means of an union. They only busied themselves in making the Belgic provinces subservient to their finances.

Cambon said loftily before the Belgians themselves; the Belgian war costs us hundreds of millions. Their ordinary revenues, and even some extraordinary taxes, will not answer to our reimbursements; and yet we have occasion for them. The mortgage of our assignats draws near its end. What must be done? Sell the church property of Brabant. There is a mortgage of two thousand millions, (eighty millions sterling.) How shall we get possession of them? By an immediate Union. Instantly they decreed this Union. Men's minds were not disposed to it. What does it signify? Let us make them vote by means of money. Without delay, therefore, they secretly order the minister of foreign affairs to dispose of four or five hundred thousand livres, (20,000l. sterling,) *to make the vagabonds of Brussels drunk, and to buy proselytes to the union in all the states.* But even these means, it was said, will obtain but a weak minority in our favour. What does that signify? *Revolutions, said they, are made only by minorities. It is the minority which has made the revolution of France; it is a minority which has made the people triumph.*

The Belgic provinces were not sufficient to satisfy the voracious cravings of this financial system. Cambon wanted to unite every thing, that he might sell every thing. Thus he forced the union of Savoy; in the war with Holland, he saw nothing but gold to seize on, and assignats

to sell at par.* Do not let us dissemble, said he one day to the committee of general defence, in presence even of the patriot deputies of Holland, you have no ecclesiastical goods to offer us for our indemnity.—IT IS A REVOLUTION IN THEIR COUNTERS AND IRON CHESTS,† that must be made amongst the Dutch. The word was said, and the bankers *Abema*, and *Vanstaphorst* understood it.

Do you think that that word has not been worth an army to the Stadtholder, that it has not cooled the ardour of the Dutch patriots, that it has not commanded the vigorous defence of Williamstadt?

Do you believe that the patriots of Amsterdam, when they read the preparatory decree which gave France an execution on their goods; do you believe, that those patriots would not have liked better to have remained under the government of the Stadtholder, who took from them no more than a fixed portion of their property, than to pass under that of a revolutionary power, which would make a complete revolution in their bureaux and strong boxes, and reduce them to wretchedness and rags?† Robbery, and

* *Author.*] The same thing will happen in Savoy. The persecution of the clergy has soured people's minds. The Commissaries represent them to us as good Frenchmen.—I put them to the proof. Where are the legions? How, thirty thousand Savoyards—Are they not armed to defend, in concert with us, their liberty?

† *Translator.*] *Portefeuille*—is the word in the original. It signifies all moveable property which may be represented in bonds, notes, bills, stocks, or any sort of public or private securities. I do not know of a single word in English that answers it; I have therefore substituted that of *Iron Chests*, as coming nearest to the idea.

† In the original, *à la Sansculoterie*.

anarchy!

anarchy, instead of encouraging, will always stifle revolutions.

But why, they object to me, have not you and your friends chosen to expose these measures in the rostrum of the National Convention? Why have you not opposed yourself to all these fatal projects of union?

There are two answers to make here, one general, one particular.

You complain of the silence of honest men! You quite forget then, honest men are the objects of your suspicion. Suspicion, if it does not stain the soul of a courageous man, at least arrests his thoughts in their passage to his lips. The suspicions of a good citizen, freezes those men, whom the calumny of the wicked could not stop in their progress.

You complain of their silence! You forget then, that you have often established an insulting equality between them and men covered with crimes, and made up of ignominy.—

You forget then, that you have twenty times left them covered with opprobrium by your galleries.

You forget then, that you have not thought yourselves sufficiently powerful to impose silence upon these galleries.

What ought a wise man to do in the midst of these circumstances? He is silent. He waits the moment when the passions give way: he waits till reason shall preside, and till the multitude shall listen to her voice.

What has been the tactic displayed during all these unions? Cambon, incapable of political calculation, boasting his ignorance in the diplomatic, flattering the ignorant multitude, lending his name and popularity to the anarchists, seconded

by their vociferations, denounced incessantly as counter-revolutionists, those intelligent persons who were desirous, at least, of having things discussed. To oppose the acts of union, appeared to Cambon an overt act of treason. The wish so much as to reflect and to deliberate, was in his eyes a great crime. He calumniated our intentions. The voice of every deputy, especially my voice, would infallibly have been stifled. There were spies on the very monosyllables that escaped our lips.

Well! who were joined with Cambon in commanding those precipitated Unions? Who stifled all discussion upon them? Who before-hand poisoned the intentions of well-meaning men? The *anarchists*! Acts of union seemed to double their prey. It was adding to the heap of their dilapidations. In their thoughts they devoured the inheritance of the people. They opened their throats against every man who from regard to justice would tear it from them.

In spite of their rage, Gaudet in the committee frequently set himself in opposition to this system; because the opposition, which was impossible in the rostrum, was, at least possible at a committee. I myself combated it, in concurrence with him; because these schemes of union did not seem to us desirable, but so far as they were founded upon attachment and upon a reciprocal interest; because in these compulsory acts of union, we saw neither that interest, nor that reciprocal attachment; because we believed, that before we can effect an union, we ought to make ourselves beloved; to prove ourselves virtuous and humane, and not robbers and murderers; because, in short, we foresaw the *denouement* of this tragedy.

tragedy: we foresaw that the Belgians would soon be against us, from the moment they did not show themselves for us, in numbers and with alacrity.

This prediction was verified; and once more I say, we owe our misfortune to this *revolutionary power*, which was but a despotism in disguise, and to the tyranny of commissioners, and to the pillages, and excesses of the soldiers. The source of all has been in the system and in the preponderating influence of the anarchists.

I do not however mean to dissemble the faults and the treasons of many of our generals, not that I believe they had great part in our misfortunes.

I know, that in delivering himself too much up to his natural presumption, hoping, as he did in Belgium, to supply by fortunate accidents every thing that was wanting to him, Dumourier did not take all the measures that were necessary for the execution of his designs.

I know that Miranda had not all the stores which were necessary for bombarding Maestricht; that Dumourier had reckoned too much upon his intelligence with the patriots of that town, since he wrote to Miranda that the gates would be opened at the third bomb; while five thousand were thrown in vain.

I know that Vallence, who commanded the army of observation cantoned at Liege and upon Roer, should have repaired thither fifteen days sooner; that the cantonments should have been broken up; that the camp of observation should have been formed, and prepared to prevent the passage of the Roer; that the generals Lanoul and Stin-gel might before-hand have been able to prepare another

another camp behind Aix la Chappelle: and, in short, have made themselves sure of preventing the passage of the Meuse.

I know that all being forced, and Liege menaced, it was agreeable to the state of affairs to empty it of its wealth, and to burn the magazines there; and that general Thouvenot has, perhaps, given proofs of his treason in letting all fall into the hands of the Austrians.

I know all that; but I ask myself how our commissioner inquisitors who were on the spot, who ought to have known every thing,—the plans for the campaign, the situations of the armies, the reports concerning the marches of the enemy, how they came not to be acquainted with the formation and progress of that army of fifty thousand men? How they came not to take the necessary means to obstruct its passage, or to dispute it better, in order to enable us to empty our magazines, to carry away the foreign riches, and to render the retreat of the troops less disastrous, and less humiliating?

I ask myself, how the commissioners, living in intimacy with Dumourier, the other generals, and their etat major, hearing every day the declarations of Dumourier and of his principal officers against the Convention, how they did not penetrate their perfidious designs? How comes it that they have not endeavoured to prevent their effects? I ask myself how it happens, that instead of making them known, they came to the committee, and to the rostrum of the Convention, to make the eulogy of Dumourier? How comes it that they declared with vehemence against that section which demanded a decree against him? I ask myself how it happened, and by what accident it was that, precisely at that epoch,

epoch, Roberspiere discontinued his declamations against Dumourier? Marat—not only gave up his denunciations, but even affirmed, that the safety of France depended upon Dumourier! On that man who at that very hour was conspiring against the republic! I ask myself how, and by what means those sudden eulogies, inexplicable to us, coincided with the conspiracy of the tenth of March? A conspiracy which also tended to dissolve the Convention, and to change our government? I ask myself how it has happened, that in the midst of all these treasons, the commissioners suspended only one general, and that general faithful to the Republic, who had refused to enter into the coalition of the counter-revolutionists——general Miranda?

I lose myself in this chaos of enigmas. Time has not given us the key; and it becomes not a republican to ground an accusation upon mere probabilities.

But I will say, that if the commissioners, instead of delivering themselves up to their pleasures, to their intrigues, or to acts of authority, had diligently studied the spirit of the Belgians, if they had given us faithful reports upon their dispositions, if they had freely announced the horror this people felt at the *revolutionary power*, the Convention, to be sure, would have abandoned that disastrous system of Cambon, which the commissioners chose to foster. They would have preferred more fraternal measures, and have spared many misfortunes to France.

These are not the only misfortunes which we owe to the headstrong dispositions of Cambon—The disasters of our finances are in a great degree his work; and I should think myself culpable towards

towards the nation, which must be at last enlightened, if I did not here lay open my whole thoughts.

Supplying the want of information, by a great activity, by an happy memory, by an imagination lively, but without regularity, without justness, without judgement, and without knowledge; carrying into his reasonings upon finance, and into his calculations, the same impetuosity, the same violence, which he displays in his impassioned controversies, Cambon has nevertheless acquired a reputation in the finances which he is not entitled to; and he has obtained a preponderancy which is fatal to France. He owes the one to certain statements which it is difficult to attribute to his pen, or to his parts, when they are known; he owes the other to the favour of the patriots, whose esteem he gained by the services he did to the revolution in his part of the country.

Supported by this, he arrogated to himself, as well in the legislative assembly as in the Convention, a kind of financial dictatorship; for no one has more strongly declaimed against a dictatorship, and no one has more frequently usurped it than Cambon; no one has better known the secret of bringing his colleagues into subjection, and of driving away such of them as were his superiors in knowledge—His genius consists in one word to *issue*—and always to *issue* assignats! He has augmented the mass by above 3,000 millions in eighteen months. But has he thought of any one measure to reduce that mass? Why has he not employed those that were presented by Condorcet, whose natural timidity has always unfortunately kept him at a distance from the rostrum?

rostrum? Why has he not proposed and carried a decree for some of those measures presented by Claviere in 1791, who never ceased from that time to lay before his eyes the cruel disorders into which we must be thrown by the successive issues of assignats, if from the very first issue of them measures were not taken to reduce the quantity? Why did he not propose his loan in assignats, so easy at that time, and which would have obtained that reduction? Why did he not press the sale of the national forests, which must have brought back a quantity of assignats--- Forests, whose *incalculable waste* lessens their value every day? Why, again, did he not adopt the measures that were proposed to induce the purchasers of the national property to anticipate their payments; an anticipation which must have augmented the mass of the paper to be burnt? In a word, why has he disdained so many other ingenious expedients that were shewn in the memorials of Claviere, that were too little read, of that Claviere from whom he wished to take lessons in 1791, and whom he wished to make his disciple in 1792; whose talents and genius he has incessantly kept dormant and persecuted; because he knew the man's superiority over those miserable plagiarists, who lent him their narrow conceptions, by suggesting to him expedients that were either ruinous or illusory.

For instance, wherefore was that prohibition of selling gold, when the national interest obliges the treasury to make a custom of purchasing it; when commerce itself wanted it for its foreign balances?

What was that sanguinary law that was proposed against the sale of gold, but a tacit confession of the impotence of the law? Wherefore

was that interruption of commerce with London, Amsterdam, and all the great towns, when France is obliged to draw so much from abroad, when foreigners are so much indebted to France? Does not the circuit occasioned by this interruption, operate as a tax entirely to the loss of the nation?

But they would proscribe all stock-jobbing.--- Why, then, did not Cambon shut up the exchange sooner, as Claviere has been incessantly requiring since 1791? it was going strait to the very source of the evil. Why, after he had himself confessed that stock-jobbing could only be combated by counter stock-jobbing; why, after he had confessed that stock-jobbing so prodigiously raised the price of specie, why did they not grant to the executive council some millions for the operations of a bank for raising exchange? since it was proved, that with that sacrifice, it might, perhaps, have made a saving of more than an hundred millions, uselessly sacrificed in that purchase of money, which is enveloped in such darkness, although it may be the most cruel and the most burthenfome tax for the nation, and with which consequently she ought to be best acquainted. This purchase has often been trusted to the hands of men who had an interest in running counter to the revolution, and to the operations of government.*

Why

* *Author.*] They have without ceasing reproached Cambon that he employed in these purchases aristocratic brokers. He has always kept them; he has trusted considerable operations of this kind to such houses as Bourdieu and Cholet in England; which, after the declaration of war, has made the
English

Why again did not Cambon employ himself in finding out means to diminish the use of *assignats*? and for example, why did not he (who never ceased in the rostrum to denounce the little dilapidators) denounce the first of dilapidations? Why did not he, who from the month of August, 1792, asserted, that the accountant branch of the war office, that gulph which swallows up the wealth of the nation, was in a frightful disorder, why has he not proposed measures to cure that disorder? Why has he left things to continue quietly in the same state; insomuch that in May, 1793, he, Cambon, still announced, that it was impossible *for any man living to draw out a clear account of the state of that department*? It is, because, to clean these augean stables courage was wanting boldly to look in the face those anarchists who domineer and peculate with impunity in that department; it is, that it was necessary to have the courage to make them empty their pockets; it is, that Cambon not only never has had that courage, but that he has since coalesced with the offenders! He who nevertheless had confessed to the committee of general defence that bankruptcy was inevitable if anarchy prevailed, if they did not severely punish the preachers up of the Agrarian Law, of seditions, &c.

English government seize from them about five millions. They have never given in an account of this loss to the Convention. At this period the treasury, directed by Cambon, had about twenty-five millions of money purchased in England, and which was exposed to seizure. What is become of that money no one knows.

What is the state of this transaction? We know nothing of it. [Translator.] Possibly the author may have done injustice to those agents in London.

At present, what is the result of this complaisance of Cambon for the anarchists? * Of this want of skill, and want of foresight with which he has suffered the accumulation both of disbursements and of the mass of the assignats?

The still increasing mass of assignats—depreciation always increasing,—the mortgage security decreasing in value and in quantity,—expenditure always increasing,—public revenue decreasing in proportion,—impossibility of being able to maintain the war and to fulfil engagements,—impossibility of drawing materials from abroad.—Fall of manufactures,—distress of the labourers,—excessive rise in the price of provisions,—general misery of the people, sedition, &c. &c.

Here are the evils to which we are exposed by false calculation, and by the vicious system of finance

* *Author.*] I should make two observations which have struck me in examining Cambon's conduct.—I observe that immediately the Rostrum affects to flatter the multitude, and every flatterer of the multitude makes me suspect his views.—

I observe that Cambon has never been attacked by the Journalists who attack the most virtuous men, and these managements of calumny increase my suspicions; possibly it is the result of his connections with certain persons who dispose of the pens of Calumniators who are in their pay.

I say nothing of the reports that are spread upon the increase of fortunes. I know nothing of it, and I do not so easily adopt common reports; yet how is his opposition to the law proposed by Buzot explained? Who forces every Deputy to give in the balance of his fortune acquired since the Legislative or Constituent Assembly, and to justify the causes of its increase.---Does Cambon so much fear the light? Mine is ready---The account stands in one word. *Nothing*--and it is the only answer that I make to the epithet that he has given me---The ally of PITT. If madness has not then turned his head, if he has said it, if he could repeat it in cold blood—Cambon is an infamous calumniator.

that

that Cambon has followed: evils that a man of genius at the head of the finance would infallibly have prevented; always supposing that he had attached himself to a system of order, the only one that is capable of establishing the republican government, and saving France; always supposing he had combated that system of a *revolutionary* power, which cannot but ruin the republic as well as the finances: evils of which it is still possible to diminish the extent and the consequences; if at length a disposition is found to abandon that fatal system.

I confess I am still to learn, how men hope to establish liberty by despotism, or to repel their enemies, or to disperse the discontented, or even to diminish their number, without establishing order throughout.

I am again at a loss to know what the anarchists mean, what they aim at, by the word *revolutionary*.

When we ask an explanation from an anarchist, he is very much embarrassed, which is never the case with his adversary. I wish, says the latter, for order *provisionally*; and consequently for the execution of the laws. I wish to find a constitution as speedily as possible: because *every one wishes to know the social contract under which he must live*: because it is in that contract only, that he will find a solid pledge of his happiness, and an incentive to fight with resolution against the enemies of his country.

The anarchist says, without doubt there must be order, there must be a constitution, but the time for it is not yet come. Well! why not? is the answer.

Because,

Because, says he, the revolution is not finished, because we have mal-contents within, enemies abroad, and that the revolutionary power is alone able to subdue both the one and the other.

I answer to the anarchists—by what means will you subdue your enemies abroad? Is it not by troops, by money, and by provisions? By what means do you propose to have troops? Is it not when your fellow-citizens shall become sincerely attached to your new government? Is it not when they shall be acquainted with it? But if government does not exist, if instead of liberty, nothing shall be seen but acts of despotism; if instead of order, nothing is seen but confusion, how will you find men ready to shed their blood to promote disorder? How can you expect that the labourer can sow the earth, of which he has no assurance that he shall gather the fruits? That the merchant will buy and sell when his shop may be pillaged? How will you get money or assignats while fear makes men hide their money; when disorder reduces the value of assignats, and prevents the purchasing of lands, the produce of which would augment their value?

Let us examine things at home. What is it that increases the number of malcontents? Is it not the fear that every citizen feels either for his fortune, or for his enjoyments, or for his life? and by what means do you propose to diminish the number of these mal-contents, if you persist in that state of violence, where every day property is violated, or the safety of individuals is attacked? Is it by commissioners, *who in one day distribute more thousands of Lettres de Cachets, than were distributed in the old times by all*

the inquisitors? Is it by an enormous creation of assignats, which portend disturbances beyond the power of calculation? Is it by exciting the poor against the rich, that you will make profelytes to your system?

In short, be persuaded that to continue what you call the “*revolutionary power*” is to wish the destruction of the revolution. Convulsions in politics as well as physics must have their term: their too long duration is mortal.

In two words, do you wish to have strength sufficient to overcome your enemies abroad? Have order, have a constitution. With a constitution you will have armies. Without a constitution your armies will soon disappear.

Have order, have a good constitution, and your mal-contents will soon be dispersed.

I go farther,—have order, have a constitution, and the foreign powers will soon ask peace of you. *How can you expect, that in this uncertain and wavering state in which you are, foreign powers can consent to treat with a Convention, which is every day dragged through the dirt; because it is the lowest disgrace to treat with an executive power which is without intermission denounced, humiliated, and tottering*.*

When

* *Translator.*] Will any one contradict M. Brissot, and assert, that Great Britain might have treated with France in the last sessions, in 1792, when it was proposed in the House of Commons to send ambassadors to Paris for that purpose? Is the time or the people now more fitted for negotiation? All these interrogatories have since received one conclusive answer—*The Guillotine.* This is the resource by which they have hitherto supported that system, by which our author supposes they must be ruined.

It hardly seemed possible to add any thing to the humiliation of that assembly and executive power when the
author

When the powers of Europe sent their ambassadors to the long Parliament of England and sought its alliance, that parliament, and the executive council appointed by them, possessed a great force. They caused the laws to be respected; they broke, and without meeting any resistance, the mayor and the aldermen of London, who had refused obedience to their decrees. There was an authority, there was a force! they were sure that the treaty concluded with such a power would be executed.

But foreign powers who would treat *with us in the actual state that we stand in*, could they entertain a similar hope? No, they say—France is divided by factions. One triumphs to-day: to-morrow it will be the triumph of another. If you treat with one, the other will break the treaty. There is no stability. Let us wait for that stability; and then we will treat.

I believe more than perhaps any other man does, that we have within ourselves all possible resources for the subjugation of our enemies, provided those resources are well administered. I believe that we ought not to lay down our arms till the honour of our Republic shall be vindicated, and her independence confirmed and acknowledged. But I believe, too, that the object of this war, like the object of all other wars, ought to be peace: and that every good Frenchman ought to look out for the means of accelerating that event, because the most successful war always most cruelly presses upon the indigent class of the people.

The

author wrote. We, however, see that they can be placed in a situation far more base and degrading, and far more removed from the possibility of any negotiation with them.

The end then of the foreign war lies in the end of the domestic anarchy. Have a constitution; have an energetic government which puts the laws in execution, and you will soon have peace. For foreign powers also feel the want of peace: *but they want to have it solid and durable.* What opposes itself with most force to the perfecting of this constitution, and to the establishment of this government? It is *anarchy* that does it, which will be satisfied with nothing but a *revolutionary power*, with nothing but revolutionary measures; and which fulminates an anathema against a constitution, as against an act of treason.*

We have run through the causes of our misfortunes; our actual situation must be looked at, to the end that we may be able to apply the remedy.

Here, then, is our situation—

A nation numerous, active, industrious, fertile in resources, that nature seems physically to have predestined to a republican government, by its facility of interior communication, and by the natural dependencies which the departments have on one another: a nation, the majority of which wishes for a republic but would also have order.

* *Translator.*] The Anarchists have, since the author's imprisonment, made a sort of code which they call a constitution. It does not differ substantially from the former delirious contrivance of the same kind. But, whatever its intrinsic merits may be, it is suspended as to its execution, by the *Revolutionary Power*, the *Revolutionary Committees*, and the *Revolutionary Tribunals*; all which are in far greater activity than ever.

Several departments where the best disposition is predominant, which the anarchists could not corrupt, by missionaries of blood, whom they have twice sent for that purpose. Departments who are still to learn that the Convention has neither liberty nor power to break the force of the factious who hold a dominion over it. And why are the departments thus ignorant? Because the best patriots among the journalists have kept up their error, in order to preserve the confidence of the departments to the Convention which is necessary to her.*

Some departments, inflamed by the fire of a revolt, which our rulers ought to have endeavoured to appease by instruction, whilst they ought also to have put a stop to it by arms: a revolt that they have certainly inflamed by striking indistinctly with the sword of the law, not only the chiefs, but all those unfortunate men who, whether by seduction or by compulsion, follow their banners; a revolt that will not be quelled, but by combining measures gentle, and fit to enlighten, with that great display of force, which would dispense with the spilling so much blood. For it is the blood of our brethren.

Armies, which wish only to fight for the republic; and who equally detest kings, dictators, and triumvirs, and all spirit of faction, but who are so far removed from the scene that they do

* *Translator.*] The author has endeavoured in vain to open their eyes. They know the state of the Convention, yet all the departments whose disposition he commends have submitted by fear or by force, to those whom he, properly enough, calls the anarchists; he has strangely miscalculated the power, or at least the energy, of those whom he supposes sober and orderly republicans.

not see, even in the journals, any thing to enable them to form a right judgment.

Popular societies, which have almost every where contributed to raise the edifice of liberty, which all wish a republic; but some of which are misled upon the question of the mode of ensuring a good republican government, by the anarchists who direct the societies of Paris, by their perfidious correspondence, by their secret emissaries, and by the long habit that all those societies are in, of looking on that of Paris as the most pure focus of patriotism; in short, by the despotism by which they have driven from those societies, all regular discussion, all men of information, and all the documents which might have enlightened them.

In turning our attention to Paris as a center, there is to be seen *a Convention*, pure in its majority, but constrained in its movements; wasted in its energy; almost always commanded in its results and determination; reckoning too much upon the *chances* of what may happen; having no vigour but at sudden jerks; excellent when it pursues its first impression; but liable to suspicions; subject also to be intimidated. This Convention is composed of three elements,—of three parties easily to be distinguished.

* The first the sworn enemy of the anarchists, enlightened, irreproachable, courageous, and determined either to die or to establish liberty by order.

* *Author.*] They marked this party under the name of "*the right hand side.*" The other under the name of "*the flat side,*" and the third has taken the name of "*the mountain.*"

The second wishing to hold the balance among republicans, friends to order, comprehending considerable talents, great probity, real patriotism,—but intermingled with many weak men who can do nothing but complain; who believe that to capitulate with crimes is the way to stifle them; put in motion by whispers of certain artful men who play the part of spies to the anarchists, and move the springs of terror, of suspicion, of calumny; directed, without daring to own it, by five or six individuals, who, crying out against the *aristocracy of talents*, have craftily arranged for themselves a pretty agreeable sort of despotism, which they exercise, by sometimes capitulating and participating with the anarchists, and sometimes by declaiming against them, when they perceive that they are the weakest.

A third party (the anarchists) few in number, but who well know how to supply the deficiency by management—composed of dupes and rogues—composed of men of good lungs, who have only the faculty of coining phrases, of shouting and bawling, and raising clamours and outcries, directed by certain hypocritical chiefs, who talk continually of *Sans Culotterie* whilst they are affecting an insolent luxury; whilst they are augmenting every day their own property, who are puppets of the dictatorship rather than dictators; who push France towards royalty, by always talking of a republic, and not being satisfied to establish it, except upon laws of blood.

Galleries, where the sovereign massacres domineer, so well painted by the energetic Fauchet. Galleries designedly familiarized, and for a long time, with insolence, disorder, and vociferation,
insulting

insulting with impunity the deputies of whose courage the anarchists are in dread.

Just at the *outside of the hall* certain groups of *cut-throats*, placed there to outrage and menace the deputies in their passage.

In the gardens and the places about, groups of idlers, who go there as to a show; and of banditti, who preach the order of the day, issued by the secret directories; and of female bacchanals, who talk of nothing but cutting off heads.

Sections where, till the movement given in these latter times, by the recruiting law, honest men dared not shew themselves; where twenty or thirty individuals idle, or in pay, dictated laws. Sections numerously attended at present, and consequently better, but too subject to change, making and unmaking their resolutions, according to the time, and to the humour of the party which happens to be uppermost.

A people more divided in opinion than it appears to be; composed of a great number of aristocrats, who secretly desire the return of the old government; who hate the republicans still more than they do the anarchists; who to make sure of their property, would defend the former: who to gain their beloved object stir up the latter; composed in part of men who live upon their industry; who weary of commotions which give no means of livelihood, let things go on, are willing to see what will happen, applaud the friends of order in secret, but command even their faces to be mute; composed of men who sincerely wish a republic, but who are not numerous enough to convert the aristocrats, to cure the indifferent of their lethargy, or to conquer

conquer the profligacy of three or four thousand robbers dispersed up and down in this city.

A public force which is not organized, which is not armed; to which, however, the justice must be done, to say that they keep up the particular police with care.

A department that is null, or rendered paralytic, when it does not join itself with the anarchists.

A municipality, entirely at their devotion, and in a state of open rebellion against the Convention.

A society of Jacobins entirely abandoned by all true patriots, by all well informed men, by all the deputies who deserve any esteem, or who possess any modesty, a society which is delivered up to ambitious and covetous leaders.

An executive council too much discredited to be obeyed, tied down with cords too numerous to be able to proceed; loaded with all responsibility, though deprived of all power. A council where the minister who holds the most important department, that on which the safety of France depends, the minister of war, is a weak man even in the opinion of his protectors; who, in spite of his weakness, in spite of the disorders in his offices, in spite of the evil he does, is still kept in his place.

A committee of public safety—in the hands of which the whole power is really placed; which holds the ministry under its ferula, disposes of every thing, nominates to every thing, without the least responsibility; which is able to influence the departments and the armies, by its commissioners, and the spirit it inspires into them; which commands the assemblies, by its being the reporter, and by the terror of what they give

give to be understood, rather than what they express, and by that influence, which so easily transfers itself from things of importance to men, who are themselves of no importance at all; a committee plainly invented, to usurp under another name, the ministry, which they could not directly usurp; a committee which can ruin or serve France, according to its moral, or its immoral character, the talents, or the folly of its members,—a committee, the nomination of which has been produced by an arrangement between the ambition, the fear, and the jealousy dictated by the conspirators of the 10th of March, which had all of them their representatives therein; a committee where we look in vain for the extensive views, capable of embracing the immense scene occupied by the French Revolution, and for that decided character which, if it does not make itself master of events, is never mastered by them,—a committee in which there is found among some, rectitude without spirit, among others, a sort of spirit without rectitude, and in short, among a third, those who turn sentences, phrases, and shew a kind of animation, without either spirit or rectitude. A committee where the mediocrity of the *doers* can alone give us some security against the extent and the abuse of their powers, but where no consolation is found for the evil brought upon us by their folly.

Men of discernment ought to judge of the committee by one fact. If this committee had searched for the cause of our evils they would not have stopped merely, where the fire shewed itself, on the frontiers, and at Vendee—they should have searched higher; they would have

found that cause in the want of a constitution. They should have said to the assembly, the revolt at Vendee, the war abroad, the misery, the exhausted state of the finances, our intestine divisions, our anarchy, all is there, all is in the one word, "*there is no constitution.*"

Obtain then a constitution, obtain one in a month; in a fortnight; in a week if you can; let it but be accepted, and all your evils will be finished. A constitution is better than arms. A constitution is better than the best missionaries to the rebels, better than the best negociators with foreign powers, better than the best measures for checking the men who come to tyrannize over you, even within your very precincts.—

They tell of savages who cleave their skulls in order to cure themselves of the head-ach. That is the very image of our committee of safety. It dreams only of war, and of laws of blood, yet it speaks to us of negociations—children! whom they amuse! It is madness or imbecillity itself to reckon upon a peace, or upon allies, while we are without a constitution. *There is no making an alliance, there is no treating with anarchy.*—To treat with men, who have not the power to arrest the guilty, who insult them at their door, or the women, who in spite of their teeth, exercise the police of their precinct, or the Jacobines who haughtily subscribe their contingent of heads to be cut off*.

Tyrants

* *Author.*] The same tactic always takes place in the environs of the new hall. The banditti and the female bacchanals have found means to gain possession of it. What can a guard composed of plain citizens do, who are changed every day, and
who

Tyrants are not so stupid. They treated with Cromwell, whom they detested, because he knew how to make himself respected.—Our cause is as good as his was execrable.—Let us make ourselves respected at home, and tyrants will soon be at our feet; that is what the committee of public safety should have said to the Convention ten days after its formation, and without doubt it would have taken a vigorous part.

Such are the individuals, such the bodies who play a part in the republic; who may cause its happiness, or its misery. After such a state of facts, it is our business to see how the republic can be saved. The Convention is, and alone ought to be intrusted with that care; all ought to center in her; all ought to proceed from her bosom. Is it good, is it free? All its measures will be good and will be powerful. Is it mastered? The measures partake of the nature of the men, and of the bodies which obtain the dominion.

The Convention cannot save France, except by establishing provisional order, and in finishing a constitution.

It cannot establish order but in making decrees repressive of anarchy as well as carrying them into execution.

These decrees cannot be made and carried into execution but *when the deputies shall be set free from all personal fear.*

who have no idea like the former *guard of honour*, of keeping off a mob from the hall.

A resolution was passed that 400 tickets should be given to the deputies for their brethren of the departments. These women insult and strike all who pass to those places. Do you recollect the outrage done to Bonneville, author of those excellent patriotic writings? Has the outrage been punished?

This fear will never go off till the Convention is in perfect tranquillity, is surrounded with respect, with confidence, or at least with a force capable of making general tranquillity and the liberty of every individual respected.

The deputies never will believe themselves free, but when they shall be calmly listened to, and without being hooted at by the galleries : when they shall be no longer threatened (within their own precincts) to have their throats cut for their opinions : when, in order to repel these threats and provocations, they shall no longer be obliged to come to the Convention armed with swords, pistols, and poignards ; *for every deputy is still reduced to that sad extremity* : when they shall no longer for the sake of their opinions be calumniated, nor proscribed as a mark for the swords of assassins, in the clubs, in the municipality, in the sections : when they shall see the Convention, or the tribunals, punish or cause to be severely punished, both calumniators, ring-leaders, and assassins.

These are the conditions, without which personal liberty of opinion cannot exist, nor of course can the Convention exist.

But, it is impossible to repress the galleries, the assassins, and the calumny, the daring attacks of the clubs of Jacobins, * and the usurpations

* Have you not seen in those latter times, Chaumette announce to the municipality of Paris, that he had at last formed the committee of correspondence with the 44,000 municipalities, in spite of the law of the 25th of October ? Have you not seen that municipality cause the author of the section of Bon-Counseil to be arrested, because in the name of that section, he came to protest his zeal for maintaining order, and the

tions of the municipality; because it is with these elements that the leaders of the Jacobins form their army, an army necessarily protected by them; because these leaders are masters of a *real* power, which not only rivals that of the assembly, but even entirely crushes it. I have cited too many examples.

Guadet has proposed the only fit measures that are suitable to the occasion. They go at once to their object; they apply a caustic to the seat of the evil. At every other time, and in every other body, nothing could appear so simple, so natural.

the independence of the assembly? Has this transgression which reflected on the assembly, been punished?

As to the Jacobins, though there exists a law, condemning to death all instigators to murder, and the dissolution of the Convention; though the prosecution of the conspirators of the 10th of March was ordered, have not the Jacobins at every sitting renewed this conspiracy, and provocations to murder? I will quote an example taken literally from the journal of the sittings of the Jacobins, 12th May, 1793.

—*A military man*—"Do you wish to save the country? the way to do it is, to exterminate all the wicked before they escape; I have studied the Convention, it is partly composed of wicked men, *on whom justice must be had*, and to that end, alarm-guns must be fired and the gates shut." (Applauses.)

Bentabole, the deputy president, pretended not to observe this instigation to murder, and paid the soldier some vague compliments.—They cried out that he is a man of moderation and a Feuillant.

A citizen of Lyon calling himself *deputy of the constituent authorities of this city*—"People, you suffer misery in the midst of blessings which encompass you, and know not how to strike! The mountain cannot save the public weal, *because the majority of the Convention is corrupted*. We must make every thing that is impure vanish from France. You can never effect a revolution, without bloodshed. You would be mere children without it. The moderate traduce the friends of the people, but there is a method to put yourselves above their calumnies, it is to exterminate the moderate."

Well! The very reading of Guadet's plan made these timid men shudder; they trusted still to their palliatives!

Yet, (and it is a truth that ought to be incessantly repeated,) as long as the Convention has not the courage to carry the ideas of Guadet into execution; as long as the Convention *dares not to order an end to be put to the sittings of the Jacobins of Paris*; as long as it will not order their hall to be shut up, and a seal put upon their papers; as long as it declines to order prosecution to be carried on against those who instigate men to murder, and to the dissolution of the Convention; as long as it suffers itself to be rendered every day more and more contemptible, every day to be more and more insulted; as long as it leaves the open rebellion of the municipality of Paris unpunished, the Convention will not be free, she will not be any thing. She cannot settle order in any one place, since she cannot command it at her own door.--- So much for *order*.

As for the *Constitution*, there is no hope of settling it, but in putting an end to the quarrels, the hatreds, and the suspicions which excite one party of the Assembly against the other; but by finding the secret to hinder the scenes of tumult made by the men who are averse to all constitutions, the secret to have our debates calm, undisguised, and mature. But is this possible? Men who love peace, imagine they always see it. *Such men are but too ready completely to forget the storm when they are out of danger.* One or two calm sittings restore their hope, till another violent tempest again blows it away. It is thus that they float in perpetual uncertainty, yielding, during the storm, and adding strength

to the error of the departments, from the delusive hopes they derive from every momentary calm. Every one says to himself, reason has had a triumph to day ; anarchy has had the worst of it ; let us then have patience ! They do not see that the anarchists have always the upper hand in the conduct of affairs, and in important decisions ; and it is of these men that you would silence the passions, in order to perfect success in your mission ! Of these men, who have sworn to eternize the discussion of the constitution, in order to eternize their own power ! Of these men, who know the secret of their own strength, since they have an hundred times found that twenty of their people, by dint of noise, and clamour, and howling, have, after a five or six hours obstinate debate, dictated to three or four hundred men, such decrees as they chose ! No, that sort of dispute would have no end, especially if you add to the calculation on passions, the chances of events, which rapidly succeed each other, and which will almost always draw the attention of the Assembly.

In short, as to the force with which it will be necessary to encompass either the Convention or the authorities, to whom the execution of the law is committed, it can be but of two kinds, moral or physical.

The *moral* force will be null, while there exists with impunity, whether in the municipality, or in the clubs, schools of defamation against the constituted authorities.

Every necessary distinction is to be here made. Undoubtedly the Convention continues to hold the confidence of the departments ; and this truth deserves to be well thought upon, especially by
strangers,

strangers, who are but too ready to calculate the fall of the Convention, from the local degradation that she suffers, in the opinion of those strangers who foolishly consider this local degradation as a national degradation. No, this last does not exist, and there lies the safety of France.* For the confidence which the Convention is in possession of throughout France, is sufficient to ensure execution of the laws, and respect to the members.

Perhaps it may be concluded, through another mistake, that the Convention having the confidence of the departments, must have that moral force which is necessary to her for fulfilling the duties of her mission. That confidence is not sufficient to that purpose; she must also join to it in particular the confidence of that great city which she inhabits.

I am very ready to believe with Petion, who has well studied the spirit of Paris, that if all her inhabitants were united in the sections, and were interrogated upon their opinions in regard to the assembly, they would almost all of them vote in her favour. How is it then that addresses, petitions, and arrests, are every day issuing from that town, announcing to the Convention, that she has lost the confidence of Paris? It is that honest men abandon the place to the anarchists.† What is the result?—That in appearance the Convention

* *Translator.*] All the world has seen how well these departments have provided for their supply. The Jacobins of Paris have triumphed every where: and the author and his friends, members of the Convention, have been abandoned.

† *Author.*] *Quid exspectas?* One might say with Cicero, who apostrophised the same inertness of that class of men, during the seditions of Cataline. *Quid ergo in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacro sanctas fore putas?*

is at war with Paris, and has not her confidence. From the moment then that this war has existence, wherein libels, placards, and addresses, take off from the Assembly that moral force which ought to surround her; where, *in fact*, she is annihilated by usurpation, and the rivalry for power, which is set up by the clubs, the sections, and the municipality, it is evident, that the Convention no longer possesses the smallest moral force, although she does possess, *in appearance*, all of that force with which the eighty-four departments can surround her. The reason is evident: this last acts only from a distance; acts only by addresses, which are laughed at, which never aims a blow at the robbers, and is to them no better than a vain phantom.

To supply this moral force, the physical force, the force of arms, must be called in to make the Assembly respected, and her decrees executed.

Physical force! cry the anarchists. You are then tyrants: they only want that force: make yourselves beloved by the people, and the people will serve you for a guard.

Make yourselves beloved by the people! But by what people do you mean to speak of? By the people of France? The Convention is in possession of their confidence. Of the people of Paris? The Convention *believe* themselves to be in possession of it. Is it by that people of robbers who surround her inclosure, commit outrage in the galleries, in the clubs, and in the *deserted* sections? The Convention would consider herself as degraded, if she possessed the love of that class of people; and it is against them, and not against the real people, that she calls for actual force.

But

But how is she to procure that force? The whole of the regular military force which Paris can supply, is disposed of in the different armies. The Parisian guard which stays there, and which is honoured by that name, is too much in a state of dependence, from its want of daily bread, and from their individual opinions, and from the relation it holds with the men who put the mob into action, and from a thousand other incumbrances which will not allow the Convention to rely always upon the service of that guard in her defence.

Will you call for this force from the departments? The anarchists will bawl out—a counter-revolution! Federalism! This departmental guard might be, perhaps, at present, a pretext for discord in Paris, or might be shortly debauched from the Convention.

Nevertheless it is impossible for the Convention to save France without being free in making her decrees, and without fully enforcing their execution. If she cannot insure that liberty, that faculty, except through public confidence, or by force; if the confidence of the eighty-five departments is made null by the robbers who infest Paris; if no force is on foot able to repress them; if by the concurrence of these circumstances, the Convention is under the yoke of a faction which governs her, and who by her means, expects to govern France in making her a *mill for decrees* (as Huard expressed it) we must either consent to destroy the republic in allowing the present Convention of to-day to die of a consumption in the mire, or a prompt and vigorous part must be taken to draw her out, in order to give France a representation that shall carry with it dignity, liberty, and power.

Many

Many methods have been proposed—we will rapidly run them over.

1st. To transfer the Convention to Versailles, or to some other place. But this translation will not remove our passions, nor our divisions from us, nor will it efface the degradation that we lie under. But the body of the people does not pronounce between the parties. Besides, is this translation in other respects practicable?

2d. To convoke our suppliants (those who are chosen to succeed on vacancies) to another town. They are not sufficient in number; and besides, the sense of the people is not taken by this measure.

3d. To augment the Convention by a third of its members. It is the way to double the tumult; to fill the empty seats of every party, without annihilating the parties. This increase of a third of the members would neither produce in their favour more liberty nor more force. We have members enough, who wish well to liberty; but there are still more who apprehend violence.

4th. To present, all at once, to the primary assemblies a plan of a committee of constitution; to engage them to accept it; and to name another legislature.

This would be the best way if we had the strength of mind to raise ourselves above little passions, and wisdom to look for nothing in this plan of constitution, but a measure pressed upon us by a regard for general safety, rather than a plan requiring minute care to make all its parts perfect. Without doubt it has defects, but it offers easy means of reform when we shall have peace.

I will not cease to repeat it.—Let us have a constitution, and we shall have a respected legislature, laws that will be obeyed, physical force to ensure the execution of them, and *an executive power respected and independent of the legislature, with which foreign powers may treat.* Let us have a constitution and we shall be delivered both from that committee of public safety, which is a disgusting monster, which annihilates all responsibility, monopolizes all power. We shall be delivered by the same means from these commissioners or despots distributed through the departments, and the armies who can answer no purpose but that of disorganizing every thing, of driving away men of talents from the public service,* and of making republicanism odious: besides, there cannot be a constitution ready, except by this fourth measure. If we attempt feebly to discuss it now, we shall not have it in readiness these two years.

The fifth method is preferable, provided the fourth is not adopted; it consists in immediately convoking the primary assemblies to proceed to the election of a new Convention, with a recommendation to them not to elect the present deputies.

This plan of Gensonné differs from that of La-source; the result of whose proposition would have been a nullity, because if it were practicable to make an expurgatory scrutiny of five or

* *Author.*] Does not what has just happened in Custine's case, offer proof? Is it not disgusting to make a general (who has done important service, and given proof of genius in the military art) subordinate to men who have no military knowledge or talents?

N. B. They have since this publication disposed of the general by their guillotine.

six million of men upon thirty deputies, who are all well known, it is impossible that it should reach forty or fifty obscure deputies who distinguish themselves only by the howlings and vociferations they make in chorus.—These men are, perhaps, more dangerous than the orators; for it is they who fatigue the assembly by their cries, and carry the decrees by force. One of these two consequences would follow: either the recommendation to exclude *all* the present members would be adopted, and then the new legislature would be delivered from the tyranny of those turbulent men; or, if that general recommendation should not be attended to, they are too well known by their excesses in their departments not to be excluded in a new election.

This project of Gensonné is much better than that of Condorcet; because its execution is immediate. Condorcet does not convoke the primary assemblies till the month of November. Either we are sound, or we are distempered; if we are sound, we do not want the remedy: if we are distempered, it will not come in time.

I look for the motive which could dictate Condorcet's project. Could he imagine it a cure for the maladies which afflict the Convention? This would be to lead the nation into a pernicious error. The Convention might perfect a cure, if she were free. Is she so? Surely Condorcet will not affirm it. Will she be more so in the month of November? Who will dare to play with the safety of the nation upon this chance? It is however what they do, who will not take a measure that is prompt and decisive.

I like the measure of Gensonné. It carries his stamp. It applies an instant remedy, be-
Q 2
cause

cause the evil is pressing. It is an appeal to the French people; to the people who ought in the end to pronounce between us, and our adversaries, who ought to pronounce between order and anarchy; her voice alone can completely crush the anarchists. The people too of themselves can adopt this measure, whenever they see the evil at its height.

The measure interrupts no business. We all remain at our posts. We continue the discussion of the plan of the constitution; we watch over affairs at home and abroad.

The new Convention brings a change of men; and that is what we seek. Those who compose the present Convention hate one another too much not to fight with an eternal rancour, and no public good is done in the midst of that fierce battle.

The new Convention will either change the place of her sitting without any convulsions, or even if she returns to Paris, she will come surrounded with a force from the departments, capable of making herself respected, and will take the direction of the police and of the public force into her own hands.

Genfonné proposed some time ago this measure of putting the police into the hands of the Convention. It was treated as a tyrannical measure. It was not even put to the vote. Time has shewn the wisdom of this rejection.

The national representation must have the police of the place where she sits, or she never can be free.*

To decide the place where the legislative body must reside is a great question. For her liberty,

* Yet an accumulation of all power is the very description of despotism.

her independence, is the only security for the goodness of her decrees, and for the equality of the departments.

This question was long discussed in the American Congress, and the experience of fifteen years has proved, that whatever they could do, the disposition of the spot where the Congress resided, had always more influence upon its deliberations than any of the other states. This experiment was often made in Pennsylvania, in Jersey, at New York; it has always given this same result. Hence it is, that there were eternal discussions between the different states; hence it is that they at length resolved to build a federal town distant from great cities; upon a ground belonging to the Congress only, where she alone might exercise the rights of government.

The Congress besides experienced another inconvenience not less considerable by residing in a great town. It was in perpetual disputes with the constituted authorities either of the town itself, or of the particular state; they would have a rivalry with the Congress. But there (in America) as reason presides in *their* heads, it is not violence that supports these rivalships; they shew themselves only in altercations, in punctilios always vexatious, always too apt to alter that confidence which ought to surround the legislative body.

At the end of the war a great number of soldiers presented themselves to the Congress to demand indemnities. The petition was insolent. The Congress called upon the government of Philadelphia for forces to repress the seditious soldiers. The government shewed no earnestness; and the Congress adjourned itself immediately into the
Jerseys,

Jerseys, though no violence had been committed against it.

What would that Congress say, if it knew the actual position of the French Convention? Would it not justly blame the republic for continuing in a town where its deliberations are not free, where its authority is every day trampled under foot by inferior authorities, where its deputies are insulted and menaced?

I do not at all examine here, whether if in time of peace, and when the constitution shall be thoroughly settled, circumstances, physical and political, will not demand that the legislative power may be fixed in Paris. Without doubt, it is not impossible to establish the independency of the legislative body in that great city. But I maintain that the measures which can establish that independence of the legislative body in any town whatever, ought to be prescribed by the constitution, to the end that they may not be always counteracted. I maintain that the Convention has not at this time in Paris, the liberty which is necessary for taking her measures, nor the force for carrying them into execution.

There is nothing on which to hesitate. The new Convention must have a *provisional meeting somewhere else, to enable her to deliberate.*

But the prosperity of Paris!—but the happiness of the people!—What will become of *them*, will be the cry? I answer, that without doubt, Paris has done immense service to the revolution; but it will be paying too dear for her services, if we sacrifice the liberty of France as an acknowledgment. That will be betraying the desires of Paris herself.

The republic ought to employ her care for the happiness of Paris ; it is a sacred debt ; she will discharge it with honour. A crowd of measures present themselves to restore the ancient prosperity of that city, or rather to bestow on her a prosperity built upon a more solid and more honourable foundation.

But the first, the most efficacious of these measures is, the restoration of order and of law. For it is a matter of demonstration, that order will never be established in Paris as long as the Convention is ruled by the robbers who usurp the name of its inhabitants, as a disguise to decorate their sanguinary decrees. *This people of robbers, who distract Paris, and outrage the Convention, must be exterminated.*

And it is to these *robbers*, whom they call *the people*, *the sovereign*, that our anarchists would subject all France.

Do you believe them, (I say as Cicero said to the Cataline of his day,) do you believe that the people of France is only a compound of those mercenaries, hired to besiege the senate, to insult the magistrates, to stimulate to pillages and to conflagrations, and to call for murders without end ? What a fine picture of the dignity of the French people, of that people, who, even in the midst of their adversity, are able to make kings tremble, together with their people of slaves !* Is this troop of banditti who daily surround the senate ; is this the French people ? The true people of France are they, who fill our towns,

* *Translator.*] This description of the unhappy people of France is not surely written for any other people than them.

who are occupied in making our manufactures flourish ; employed in our fields in fertilizing our soil ; employed in our armies in defence of their country against foreign tyrants. There, there is the people of France whom we wish to serve, whose interest ought to prevail with us above all things ! There is the people who wish that their representatives should be free, in order that they may give them salutary laws ! There is the people who say to the robbers, “ I will sacrifice you all, if the blood of a single individual of my representatives is spilt !* ” There is the people from whom it is our duty not to conceal the truth ; to whom we owe the truth naked, whole, and entire ! Well, it is to that people that I say the Convention is *not free at Paris*. The present Convention cannot save you, another must be called, it must sit somewhere else ; otherwise you will have neither constitution nor government.

What an happiness it will be for me, if I am deceived in holding this opinion, but I cannot impose upon my conscience. I know the anarchists too well ; I am too well instructed in what has passed, to allow myself to be abused by a few moments of perfidious calm, by a few sittings, where reason prevailed.

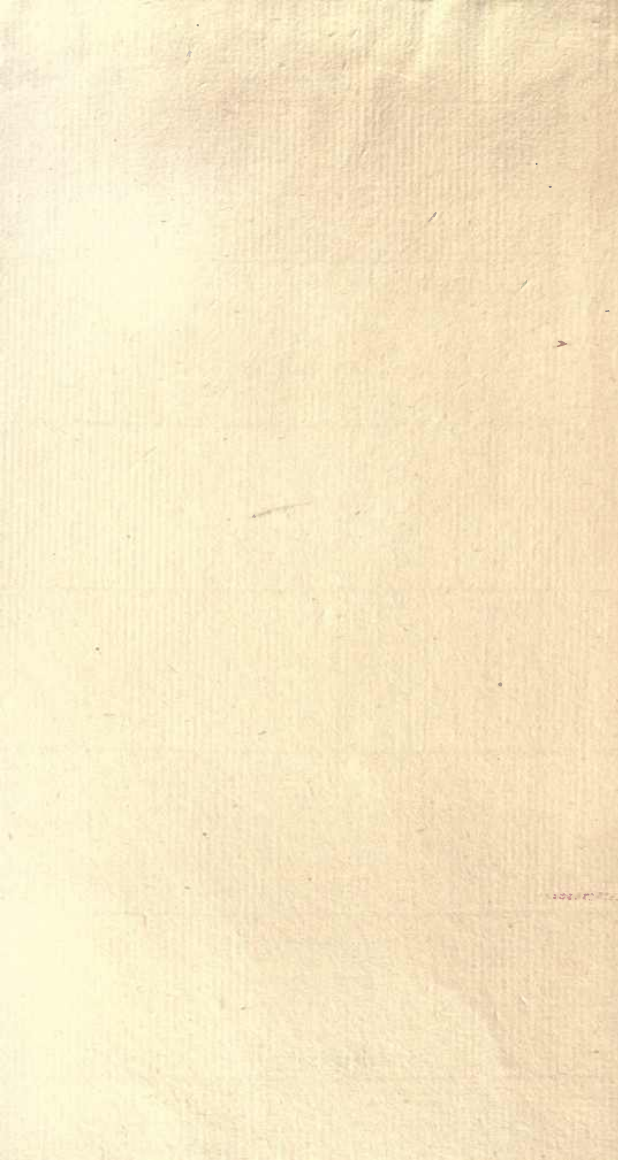
Departments, listen to me ! Here is my thermometer : it ought to be your's. When they tell you that the Convention is free and obeyed, ask if the municipality is dissolved ; if those who instigated murders, and the dissolution of the Convention, have left their heads upon the scaffold ? Are they unpunished ? Do they with the same auda-

* *Translator.*] Mark the event: twenty-two of their heads struck off on the scaffold amidst the cries of *Vive la Republique* ! Who has attempted to revenge this ?

city every day renew their excesses? Say that the Convention is not free, and consequently cannot save you. Whoever affirms the contrary is mistaken, or imposes upon you. Either have force, or fly from hence. This is my last word.

Anarchists, robbers! You may now strike; I have done my duty; I have told truths which will survive me; truths which will at least efface the disgrace with which you would wish to cover my name; truths that will prove to all France that good men have constantly exerted their whole strength to open the eyes of France, and to preserve her liberty.

city every day renew their efforts? Say that the
Convention is not free, and consequently cannot
give you. Whoever affirms the contrary is mis-
taken, or imposes upon you. I have taken
or fly from hence. This is my last word.
Anarchists, stop! You may now strike; I
have done my duty; I have told truths which will
survive me; truths which will at least efface the
disgrace with which you would wish to cover my
name; truths that will prove to all France that
good men have constantly exerted their whole
strength to open the eyes of France, and to pre-
serve her liberty.



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